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CHAPTERS

ON

PRISONS AND PRISONERS,

AND

THE PREVENTION OF CRIME.

BY

JOSEPH KINGSMILL, M.A.,

CHAPLAIN OF PENTONVILLE PRISON, LONDON.

"It is the duty of society not only to punish the crimes committed, but also carefully to seek out their causes, and, so far as it is in human power, to remove them."

Oscar, King of Sweden.

Third Edition.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.

1854.

LONDON:
REED AND PARDON, PRINTERS,
PATERNOSTER ROW.

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PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

THIS book has, thus far, been successful beyond the expectations of the writer. The incidents of criminal life interspersed through the various Chapters, have been described by literary reviewers, as "facts stranger than fiction," and more instructive; and its suggestions and information have found a favourable response amongst the intelligent and influential public. It has not, however, carried off the suffrages of all;

"Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci."

The professors of the modern science of *penology*, who advocate protracted and indiscriminate separate confinement, as the best hope of reclaiming criminals, consider it little short of a betrayal of the cause of Prison Reform. The well-meaning friends of total abstinence and compulsory temperance, look upon its silence respecting their plans for promoting national morals, naturally enough, with disapprobation. But most of all, do the disciples of Roman doctrine dislike it; and, it is to be feared, if they should now favour it with a perusal, they will dislike it more heartily. Not that the writer has grown more intolerant or uncharitable towards others in the carrying out their opinions and conscientious convictions, (the reverse is the truth, if he knows anything of his own heart;) but because, in the treatment of his subject, he has been led to adduce facts calculated to show that the

papal system of Christianity, which arrogates to itself exclusive sanctity, is more prolific in irreligion and vice than the most fanatical Protestant sect in England. Notwithstanding this drawback, the book before the reader professes to be an improvement upon its predecessor. The subjects treated upon are more copiously illustrated by living characters. It is less documentary, and gives the history of Convictism in a more readable form, from the days of *Botany Bay*, to its last phase in England, as the home-ticket-of-leave system, and Mr. Lucas's effort in Parliament to have attached to our gaols salaried Roman Catholic chaplains.

How far such influence is worth paying for, (in preference too, to other claimants,) in the hope of reforming criminals, which is proved so signally to have failed, in comparison with other denominations, above all proportion, and fair consideration of circumstances, in keeping people out of prison; or how far it is consistent with English notions of religious liberty to fasten its chains upon those who have lost their civil rights, whether willing or unwilling to submit, is left to others to consider. The writer only refers to the subject in these pages in order to vindicate himself from the animadversions of Mr. Lucas in the House upon his conduct as Chaplain of Pentonville Prison, in reference to convicts of the Honourable Member's adopted communion.

As regards the volume itself, it may be added, although not deteriorated in any respect, (indeed, it reflects credit upon the press from which it issues,) it is reduced in price; and if any wish to present it to *bonâ fide* FREE libraries, or institutions supported by voluntary aid, it may be worth while on their part to communicate with the Author.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY,

IN UNFEIGNED ADMIRATION

OF

TALENT, RANK, AND INFLUENCE,

DEVOTED TO THE GOOD OF MANKIND,

IN THE REPRESSION OF IMMORALITY AND CRIME,

THE ALLEVIATION OF HUMAN SUFFERING AND MISERY,

AND THE ADVANCEMENT OF TRUE RELIGION IN THE WORLD,

This Volume,

AIMING IN AN HUMBLER SPHERE AT THE SAME NOBLE OBJECTS,

IS, WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION, MOST RESPECTFULLY

DEDICATED BY

THE AUTHOR.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

(Page 1.)

CHAPTER I.

CLAIMS OF THE SUBJECT UPON PUBLIC CONSIDERATION.

PAGE

Expense Enormous—Cost of 14 Criminal Boys—Amount stolen—A Gang of Thieves—Moral Injury—Young Men and Women who have not lost Character used as Tools—Schools for teaching Picking Pockets—The Interests of Humanity—Bishop of St. David's admirable Sentiments—Beautiful Lines by Prisoners—Convict Soldier on his Mother's Death, &c. 7

CHAPTER II.

THE CHARACTER AND CHIEF CAUSES OF CRIME IN ENGLAND.

Proportion of Crime to Population—Crime in England and France compared—Number of Irish Criminals in England—Cardinal Wiseman's Testimony respecting Westminster—Causes of Crime—Seduction—Nefarious Traders in this Crime—Account of two young Ladies entrapped by these Monsters—Luxury of the Age—Fraudulent Modes of Business—The Public-house—Testimony of Forty-seven Chaplains on the Beer Bill—The Stage—Reform of Theatres attempted by Mr. Macready—Gambling, &c. &c. . . . 32

CHAPTER III.

THE PUNISHMENT OF CRIME BY IMPRISONMENT.

State of Prisons when Howard began his Inspection—Present State of some—The Newgate System—Scenes in Prisons of this Kind—The Silent-associated System—Separate Confinement—King of Sweden on Separate Confinement—Prison of Civita Vecchia—Murdering and Fasting . . 93

CHAPTER IV.

CONVICT SYSTEMS, PAST AND PRESENT.

Botany Bay—Norfolk Island—Assignment System—Probation System of Lord Stanley—Earl Grey's Scheme—Government Home Prisons Reviewed—New Ticket-of-leave System in England—Brixton Female Convict Prison—Roman Catholic Chaplains 129

CHAPTER V.

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM A PRISON.

PAGE

Notes of Ten Days' Routine of a Chaplain's Duties—Visit from Cell to Cell—Refractory Ward—The Visiting and Parting Room—Affecting Scenes—Causes of their own Crime stated by a Hundred Convicts—Letters to and from Prisoners—Prisoners' Lives saved by gallant conduct of a Governor—Remarkable Address from a Convict to his Fellow-Prisoners—Some cases of Clever Deception by Convicts 207

CHAPTER VI.

A CHAPTER FOR OFFICERS IN CHARGE OF PRISONERS.

Rules in Government Prisons—Officers addressed from these Rules—A good Discipline Officer a great Help to Reformation of Prisoners—How best to discharge his Duty—Officers of Low Habits warned by Examples—Chaplains and Governors Addressed—Suggestions to Magistrates upon selection of Officers, &c. 307

CHAPTER VII.

EFFECTS OF CHRISTIAN TREATMENT IN GENERAL UPON PRISONERS.

Convict-ships in former times and of late years—Sir Edward and Lady Parry at Port Stephen—Elizabeth Fry—Sarah Martin, of Yarmouth—John Howard, Sketch of his Life and Labours 342

CHAPTER VIII.

ON CAPITAL PUNISHMENTS FOR MURDER.

The Right of the State to inflict Capital Punishment—The Expediency—Public Executions—Howard on Capital Punishment 376

CHAPTER IX.

THE PREVENTION OF CRIME.

Prevention of Relapse—Continental and Home Institutions—Prevention of Crime in Classes most in danger—Benevolent Plans Reviewed—Prevention of Crime by National Improvement—The Result of Revived State of Religion—The Pulpit—The School—The Family—Numbers of Roman Catholics in England, and the Deplorable Excess of Crime amongst them, &c. 386

APPENDIX.

1. Comparative Statistics of Crime in England, Scotland, and Ireland . . 491
2. Report of Chaplain of Pentonville Prison, referring to Changes in the Discipline, &c. &c. 493
3. The Crystal Palace—Opinions of 599 Medical Men in the Metropolis, on the subject, also of Seventy Prison Chaplains 502
4. Names and Localities of Convict Prisons 507
5. Form of a Ticket-of-leave as now granted in England 508

CHAPTERS

ON

PRISONS AND PRISONERS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following pages have no pretensions to literary merit, and, therefore, neither invite nor deprecate criticism. They are the productions of a hasty pen, noting down under convenient heads such facts and observations as seemed likely to be of use in meeting the question, *What shall we do with our criminals?* and in promoting that other more important one: *What shall we best do to prevent crime altogether?* or, if this cannot be looked for, to check its progress in the land?

They aim also, all through, at being useful, by way of warning and example to the young and inexperienced, in the hands of those to whom the Chief Shepherd has intrusted the care of souls—parents, pastors, and employers, and I would fain hope even in their own. For although there is not very much

here to arrest the lively and the gay, most people, in our inquiring age, like to know what is passing in the world around them, even in things most foreign to their own pursuits, and to be able to form an opinion for themselves, on subjects popularly debated in parliament and elsewhere: and all have their moments either of vacuity or thoughtfulness, when a book, on a subject not the most inviting, would not be despised in lieu of a better.

It would not have been difficult (at least in other hands) to make the subject more attractive to the lover of light reading. There is more romance in real life than is generally supposed, and there exist materials in abundance within the walls of a prison, for the construction of the most exciting tales. To attempt, however, to gratify a taste of this kind would be, in the writer's judgment, to pander to a morbid appetite, and to plant with one hand some of the germs of criminality in the breasts of the young, whilst professing to eradicate them with the other. Therefore, only such facts are here referred to as seemed calculated from their truth, their painfulness, and their moral, to engage the healthful sympathies of the heart, and instruct as well as interest the mind. A Christian cannot trifle with the guilt or misery of his fellow-man.

Much of the utility of the work will depend on the manner in which it is taken up by my brethren in the ministry; and by that great community of Christians of every name in the land, who holding in common the great principles of truth, are

seeking, by active, believing exertions, to promote the Redeemer's kingdom, and the good of mankind. Such individuals are labouring at *the right end* for the prevention of crime, particularly when the subjects of their benevolence are the labouring poor, or the young. For their works and labours of love, the writer desires to be a mere gatherer of the rude material, "a hewer of wood or a drawer of water," while he earnestly commends to their prayers and sympathies the less promising field of labour, which prison chaplains are called to cultivate. Happily, our work is unsectarian, and may claim the sympathy of every Christian heart.

I rejoice to know that already these humble pages have attracted thus the attention of many pious persons in and out of the Established Church, and that some pastors have here found facts by which to illustrate and enforce their godly admonitions from the pulpit. It is also no small satisfaction to find, that not a few families, saddened and dishonoured by the crime and punishment of some unworthy, but still much loved, relative, (alas! many a respectable and virtuous home has this bitter grief,) have found some alleviation of their sorrow, from what they have here read, of the mercy mixed with justice in the present generally-received mode of treating prisoners in England, as well as of the abundant means provided for their reclamation, and the happy results, through the Divine blessing, in cases not a few.

Painfully does the writer's heart sympathize with

such persons in their sore afflictions; but he would earnestly entreat them to bear in mind, that "affliction cometh not forth of the dust, neither doth trouble spring out of the ground;" that it is God himself who sends the trouble for some wise and gracious purpose. Therefore, whilst they bitterly bewail the grievous fall of some relative or friend, and pray and long for his recovery and salvation, let them "*hear the rod, and who hath appointed it,*" themselves. Let them receive the trial as from heaven, and turn to the Lord with all their heart. Thus, through grace, may their greatest troubles prove the best blessings of their lives, and the bitter tears of unprofitable regret give place to humble and adoring confidence in Him, who can bring good out of evil, and light out of thick darkness.

"No chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous: nevertheless afterward it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness *unto them which are exercised thereby.*"

St. Paul teaches us to recognise an all-wise and gracious Providence in such dispensations, when he writes to Philemon, concerning Onesimus, converted under the preaching of the Apostle: "Perhaps he therefore departed for a season, that thou shouldest receive him for ever."

God grant it may be so in your case, afflicted reader, who have son, or brother, or husband, or *father*, in the sad condition of a prisoner.

Whilst putting these thoughts to paper, a letter from a clergyman to his brother—here unhappily

a prisoner—passed through my hands, which embodies these sentiments very appropriately. As a Christian, the writer sees the hand of God in the terrible domestic calamity; and looks beyond the disgrace and loss, to the fruit of the affliction sanctified, as he hopes and prays it may be, to his poor brother's salvation—adding, what is very affecting to my own heart, and very instructive to persons in like circumstances :—

"We seldom go to bed without praying for you; I think I never do. The sentence in the Litany, that God would *show mercy upon all prisoners and captives*, has always a response in my heart. '*We beseech thee, good Lord.*' As I walk through my parish, often is my heart lifted up to God on your behalf; and at the Lord's table, I always make special mention of you, my poor dear brother."

Yes, dear reader, this is the only way by which the sorrows of your heart can be assuaged.

There is an eye that never sleeps
  Beneath the wing of night;
There is an ear that never shuts,
  When sink the beams of light.

There is an arm that never tires,
  When human strength gives way;
There is a love that never fails,
  When earthly loves decay.

That eye is fixed on seraph-throngs;
  That arm upholds the sky;
That ear is fill'd with angels' songs;
  That love is throned on high.

But there 's a power which man can wield
When mortal aid is vain,
That eye, that arm, that love to reach,
That listening ear to gain.

That power is *Prayer*, which soars on high,
Through Jesus, to the Throne,
And moves the hand which moves the world
To bring salvation down.

CHAPTER I.

CLAIMS OF THE SUBJECT UPON PUBLIC CONSIDERATION.

"Nihil humani alienum a me puto."

THE subject of prisons and prisoners has become a painfully interesting one, whether the expense be regarded, the public morals, or the claims of humanity. Few persons, except those who are compelled to encounter the repulsive study of blue-book literature, or who are connected with the detection or punishment of crime, have any adequate idea of the magnitude of this evil, when viewed in any of these respects.

The expense is enormous. The annual cost of prisoners in England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland, *exclusive* of the capital sunk in prison buildings, the expense of the police force, the prosecution and trial of offenders, and the enormous charge of a complete standing army of constabulary and regular soldiers in the sister country, is about one million sterling.

Let the matter be viewed a little in detail:—

Mr. Rushton, the late experienced magistrate of Liverpool, when giving evidence before Lord

Brougham's Committee, in 1847, made the following statement concerning fourteen criminal children:—"The average cost of these fourteen prisoners, during their confinement, exceeded sixty guineas each, exclusive of the expense of transportation, subsequently, of the greater part:" which, upon a moderate calculation, he estimated at forty more, or a total loss to the public of one hundred guineas each. And what was the result of all their imprisonment? "Four years afterwards," says Mr. Rushton, "I went back to these fourteen cases, and I ascertained what had become of them. Ten out of the fourteen children had been transported; one had died; one is now in custody; one is among the criminal population; and of only one is there any hope of reformation, and that one I have never heard of.

Of the loss to the public in property stolen, it is not possible to form any correct estimate. Some approximation, however, to the probable amount may be arrived at from such facts as the following:—The total number of convicts—that is, persons sentenced to transportation annually in England and Wales has been, *communibus annis*, about 3000. Now in one year, I ascertained that 500 prisoners of this class, taken as they stood in order on the register-book, had stolen property to the value of £10,000, as estimated upon their trial. But, as these men had, on an average, been convicted once before, this sum may be safely doubled on that score, which will give £120,000 as the aggregate *discovered* amount

stolen by the total number of convicts. Now, to this may be added, at the most moderate calculation, as much more, on account of depredations committed by the same parties when they escaped detection, making in all about one quarter of a million's worth of property taken from its rightful owners by 3000 convicts—*i. e.*, by about one-thirtieth part of the total of individual criminals who annually pass through our prisons; so that it does not appear unreasonable to suppose—making very large allowance for the more advanced stage of crime in the convict or transported class—that the entire loss to the community, in annual depredations, does not fall short of two millions sterling.

To give other *data* for the calculation of loss to the public in stolen property, it may suffice to say that thieves in all our great towns act on a system of aggression, concealment, and defence, as complete as can well be imagined; that they are, as a body, more than ordinarily clever, fertile in resources by study and practice, and incomparable actors; that the whole business of thieving is subdivided, in some measure like that of a manufactory, so that each one obtains as great a facility in his branch as ingenious artisans in their respective trades. The consequence is, that fraternities of such persons often share enormous booty, each, however, if at all possible, defrauding his fellow. But, *male parta, male dilabuntur; ill-gotten, ill-gone;* a man of this sort lives as a man of fortune, dresses, and smokes his cigar, as gentlemen are supposed to do, attends the races,

theatres, and other places of public amusement in the character of a gentleman, and has expenses on other accounts which cannot be so well specified. How does he keep this up? Exclusively by plunder. Yet it is notorious that he does not get more than an eighth of the value of stolen goods from the receiver.

Nor is this the case only with the well-dressed and well-educated swindler, and the *confrères* of the swell mob. A very ordinary, but expert house-robber or shop-lifter, will plunder to the amount of hundreds of pounds in a year, and must do so to get a mere living, if he has addicted himself to the horrid trade of thieving. All this loss, however, is only a part of the pecuniary injury inflicted by a single thief on the community, which has then to be taxed for his detection, his punishment, and his reformation.

Some curious particulars on this point are given by my excellent friend, the Chaplain of Preston House of Correction, in his Report for 1850. Speaking of a gang of male and female pickpockets which came under his notice, Mr. Clay goes on to say: "The extensive demoralization laid bare by the Clarkes, Flanagan, and others, cannot but shock the religious sense of every one who desires the real welfare of all classes. No doubt the moral aspect of the case is, beyond all measure, of the greatest moment; at the same time, it will not diminish solicitude if I present an economical view of it, and show how much the public has probably been plundered of by

this very small detachment from the pickpocket division of '*la classe dangereuse*.' Flanagan's fourteen years' course, and Kelly's twenty years' (the latter worthy being still in practice), show, too plainly, that the law, or at least the police, is unequal to a successful contest with such characters; and it may, therefore, be of service to exhibit to the public the amount of depredation they are exposed to, that they may obviate, by their own watchfulness, those losses which, if once sustained, can seldom be recovered.

"Estimate of the loss inflicted on the public by the undermentioned pickpockets, &c., during their several careers :—

1.	Richard Clarke, during a career of	6	years	£2820
2.	John Clarke,	5	„	500
3.	Edward Clarke,	3	„	1650
4.	Ellen Clarke, (O'Neill)	2½	„	1550
5.	John O'Neill,	9	„	1450
6.	Thomas O'Gar,	6	„	300
7.	James O'Brien,	3½	„	1400
8.	Thomas M'Giverin,	7	„	1900
9.	Thomas Kelty,	20	„	8000
10.	John Flanagan,	14	„	5800
11.	John Thompson,	5	„	1800
12.	John Bohanna,	6	„	1500
13.	J. Shawe,	3	„	600
14.	W. Buckley,	7	„	2100
15.	Sarah Dickenson,	3	„	630
				£32,000

"To give a more exact idea of the extent to which the public may be plundered by a *single*

hand, I subjoin the particulars of such robberies as Flanagan can remember to have committed. These particulars are arranged from Flanagan's MS., in the order of their dates. In making out his list, F. was directed to enumerate those robberies only in which the value exceeded £10. He stated, however, that his robberies *under* £10 would far exceed in amount those *above* that sum. 'Oh, sir,' he said, 'when Macready would be acting at the Manchester Theatre, I could get three watches of a night, besides purses.'

1838 and 1839.

Value.	Where robbery committed.	From whom.
£20	Concert, Liverpool . .	A gentleman.
15	Theatre, Liverpool . .	A gentleman
11	Zoological Gardens .	A lady.
30	Coach-office, Liverpool .	Proprietors.
46	Auction, Broughton-road	A lady.
30	Auction, Cheetham-hill .	A lady.
15	Auction, Pendleton . .	A lady.
21	Manchester . . .	A till from a liquor-vault.
50	Manchester . . .	A till from a public-house
11	Leek, Stafford . . .	A shopkeeper.
85	Hanley Races . . .	A gentleman.
49	Northallerton Fair . .	A drunken farmer.
12	Liverpool Packet . .	A passenger.
18	Liverpool Packet . .	A passenger.
30	Liverpool Packet . .	A passenger.
45	Horncastle Fair . .	A lady.
17	Leeds Fair . . .	A butcher.

1840 and 1841.

10	Lincoln Fair . . .	A gentleman.
14	Lincoln Fair . . .	Captain of a boat.

Value.	Where robbery committed.	From whom.
£10	Spalding Fair . . .	A farmer.
11	Horncastle Fair . .	A maltster.
10	Liverpool Races . .	A gentleman.
16	Liverpool Races . .	A farmer.
17	Chester Races . . .	A lady.
11	Manchester Races . .	A lady.

1841 and 1842.

10	Manchester Theatre . .	A lady.
70	Bury Fair	A cattle-dealer.
250	In the street, at Manchester	An officer.
15	Knutsford Races . .	A jockey.
30	Doncaster Races . .	A publican.
18	Nottingham Races . .	A butcher.
14	Derby Races . . .	Unknown.
13	Crowle, Lincoln . .	A publican's wife.
12	Caister, Lincoln . .	A farmer.
11	Market Raisin . . .	A gentleman's servant.
60	Brigg Fair . . .	A farmer's wife.
21	Louth, Lincolnshire . .	A coachman.

&c. &c. &c."

The depredations of Flanagan are given at length by Mr. Clay in the subsequent years up to July, 1850, when he was apprehended at Burnley, and transported.

This man was imprisoned about seventeen times. "He was also apprehended and discharged for want of evidence about fourteen or fifteen times."

This professor of thieving gave an account of female pickpockets, which will show how *systematic* is this crime even in provincial towns :—

"The women now *travelling* look so maidenlified and comely in their person, that no human being would suspect them being

pickpockets. Their attire is generally of the best, but it is not so with all. Some of the female-*wires* are dressed in the first style. There are three of them attending the shops where the most ladies go to: one woman acts as servant while the *wire* acts mistress. When they go into one of these shops, as any other lady might do, they are on the watch to see when purses are pulled out, and the 'mistress' gets close to a lady who has shown a purse, *wires* her of it, and then contrives to give it to the 'servant,' who goes away, while the mistress remains in the shop, and, if she is clever, gets another purse before leaving it. There are now in Manchester, three of the cleverest lady-*wires* travelling:—one from Birmingham, one from Leeds, and one from Liverpool. The oldest of these three is about twenty-four, and the youngest about sixteen. This youngest keeps a young man, who is dressed like any gentleman, with his gold watch and curb chain attached to it; and she dressed so, that any magistrate who saw her would say she never could be anything of the sort; only her speech instantly condemns her. Last summer, at Birkenhead and Chester Railway stations, one or two of these lady-like wires attended regularly. They frequent, also, private sales in town and country. One may see them with books in their hands, like other ladies, and giving now and then a bid for an article, but they never come away with anything *bought* at the sale. They look into the newspapers for intelligence about sales, and also about concerts, which they attend. I knew one woman and her man who got more money than any three women travelling. They had their own horse and gig, riding about from fair to fair. Not long after coming out of Wakefield, where she had been twelve months, both she and her man got transported about three years ago at Derby. There is now in Manchester and Liverpool about fifty or sixty of these women-*wires*, one day dressed up in their best, another day quite plain, to escape any information that may have been given."

I saw this worthy (Flanagan) in Portland Convict Prison in 1852. He was then near the close of his probation, and I suppose by this time is at the diggings. Of his success there I have no doubt.

Thus far with the mere money view of the subject.

But who can calculate *the moral injury* endured by society from this source, when he considers that an accomplished robber, in the climax of criminality, becomes a *teacher* of gambling, a *trainer* of thieves, an insinuating, and, too often, *successful tempter* of young men's fidelity in offices of trust or service, and the heartless *seducer* of female innocence in the houses of the wealthy, often that he may perpetrate, in greater security, his plans of robbery?

The ramifications of vice from this quarter alone, in our great towns, are extensive beyond all ordinary belief. Inveterate and practised thieves work, wherever they can, by means of dupes or victims *who have not yet lost character.* Such tools are too ready at hand for their purpose,—young persons of both sexes who have neither sufficient principle to keep them from improper places, nor resolution, when they find themselves in danger, to flee before they are overpowered and ruined; and who, in general, by extravagance and folly, are in pecuniary difficulties. For, truly, just as religion received into the heart makes every one an agent for good, in a greater or less degree; so vice and ungodliness are self-propagating, and, alas! in too congenial a soil. Wherever ungodliness is fully developed—as in the class of persons referred to, and its kindred one in the other sex—there will be found an active, zealous, and successful missionary of evil.

Young men, as well as young women, in business, and in service, should be made alive to the dangers of this kind, which beset their path in life.

To form no acquaintance with any but persons of *known* respectability in their walk of life; to spend their evenings in reading well-selected books; in communications with home, or in the family of a virtuous friend; and to be content with rational *day* amusements, upon such occasions as almost every employer will afford to his dependents—is, it may be thought, to be very precise, and to lose much of the pleasures of youth; but it is *necessary*, if young persons would guard their virtue and integrity from being tampered with by designing parties, who lie in wait to deceive, and it is to lay the foundation of *real* respectability and true happiness.

It is another horrid feature of this subject, that there are places in all our large towns for directly *teaching* the various branches of thieving; and the pupils, in these schools of infamy, are just that class of children who, if taken in hand by kind and Christian instructors in time, seem most likely to become active, useful members of society; having, in general, more than ordinary energy of character, shrewdness, and ability.

In the following brief account, given by my valued friend, the Chaplain of the City of London House of Correction, there is reference to one of these seminaries:—

"James L——'s father was a soldier, and died when he was very young, leaving his mother unprovided for. The only means of her support was obtained by begging in the streets. She died about nine years ago. James, consequently, was left very young without any one to look after him; he soon fell amongst thieves, and was taken to Wentworth-street, in Whitechapel, to a house

where he was boarded and lodged for six months, when he was taught to pick pockets. He says, that there were twenty more boys kept, beside himself, for the same purpose, by a man and woman who lived by their plunder. Daily the woman dressed herself, put a bell in her pocket, also a purse, containing 6*d.*; any of the pupils who could take the purse from her pocket, without causing the bell to tingle, got the 6*d.* as a reward for his dexterity. He remained until he was a proficient pickpocket."

The following account is from the painfully interesting records of a City Missionary, concerning a man who had kept a house of this sort, but was apparently brought under religious convictions:—

"The missionary found, on conversing with him, that he had been twenty years living a criminal life, and had been twenty times in prison. He resided in a low lodging-house, where he carried on his craft of training young lads to steal. The best hands among them were sent into the streets, and they brought home the plunder, on which the criminal school lived. He was too well known to the police to dare to go out himself. 'But,' said he, 'I never can keep the young 'uns long, for as soon as I have made them clever at their profession, if they are not taken by the police, they leave me and start for themselves; so that I am obliged to look out for new hands.' This led the missionary to ask him how many lads he supposed he had trained to be thieves during the twenty years. He had kept no account, and he could not exactly tell, but of this he was sure, that it was not less than *five hundred.* How ramified the evil which this one man had effected! What a cost had he been to the country! How perfectly fearful the amount of wretchedness and ruin which he had effected! Happy that individual who has effected the good which this one man had effected of evil."

Nor does the mischief stop here; for a corruption of morals goes on in prisons, subsequently, to an amazing extent; especially where the comparatively innocent are not separated from the desperate and

hardened, as will abundantly appear when I come to that part of my subject.

The following extract from the Report (1849) of the devoted Chaplain of Durham Gaol, will, however, here not be out of place:—

"For the most part, all prisoners for trial do nothing; sometimes five or six months are spent in perfect idleness, by which most injurious habits are acquired. But this is not the principal root of the evil. All prisoners for trial sleep in rooms containing six or eight men or boys each. *Here it is that burglaries and robberies are planned, and systems of begging and fraud are discussed. Here they learn each other's vices, and plot outrages during their nocturnal association.*

"An instance of the corruption of morals which takes place among these prisoners, may be mentioned:—Three men, one old and two young, were committed for trial for a highway robbery of a few pence. The old man made no secret of his guilt: and stated, that he had never seen the two younger prisoners before he met them on the road, on the night of the robbery, and that they had nothing to do with it. The young men further protested their innocence; and, after waiting several months in the trial-room for the assizes, no evidence was offered against the younger prisoners, and the old man pleaded guilty. *These men who, up to this time, had borne a good character, had so well learnt their lessons from their companions in the trial-ward and sleeping-rooms, that both have since, at*

different times, been convicted of felony, and each confessed, that he had not worked from the time of his discharge until he returned to gaol; and that the bad example and advice of his fellow-prisoners had led him to adopt a course of crime for his support.

"From the age of twelve to twenty, young persons easily receive impressions for good or evil; and in this prison, I observe a *curiosity* in the boys to know all about the crimes of their fellow-prisoners; and soon they learn to look upon the man who has been oftenest in gaol as the greatest hero. *Thus the young are taught the vices of their elders, and many who enter the prison naughty boys, it is to be feared, leave it accomplished thieves.*

"In the female part of the prison, all that can be done is now done, to prevent contamination and to maintain order; yet it is to be lamented that, from the form of the building, ten women at one time, during this year, were all day without control in the trial-room for many weeks. Among these, were two of the worst women of Sunderland, and two servants for stealing from their mistresses in respectable places. One of these servants has returned to prison. When discharged, she was met by her parents at the gaol gates, and taken home, where she remained only one week, and then ran away to Sunderland, to the infamous lodging-house of a *prison companion*, from whence she returned to gaol. *For one example of the utter ruin of morals, thus directly traced to the prison contamination, hundreds take place unknown.*"

But *the interests of humanity* have a claim at our hands, as well as those of economy, or even of morals. It was a noble sentiment from the lips of a heathen: "*Nihil humani alienum a me puto*,"—"What concerns man concerns me;" and it met with a hearty response in the breasts of a people, pagan in religion, and fierce and terrible in war. The Christian must go further. The heavenly doctrines of the gospel teach us, not merely to regard all men as of one race, having common sympathies and interests, *philosophically*, (these Romans notoriously did little more;) but to *do good* unto all, and to feel and act towards every one in distress as towards a neighbour or a brother.

To neglect the virtuous in distress, and to honour not the upright man struggling with adversity, and still maintaining his integrity, is to fall below the virtue of some heathen. To have no pity for the guilty and depraved is, certainly, not to rise to the character of the Christian.

Let vice be detested. None can so intensely abhor it as the follower of Christ. Let crime be punished promptly and severely; Christianity enforces the claims of human justice. Let the man be pitied, and, if possible, restored.

What would have become of the best of men, if, in the love of God towards his creatures, there existed only complacency and delight towards those who never sinned, and not compassion also for the fallen? "God commendeth his love toward us, in that, *while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us.*"

Some classes of criminals may be specified as particularly entitled to compassion.

Look at the case of the young. "When we are considering the claims of such individuals upon our pity," to use the language of the Bishop of St. David's, preaching in behalf of the Philanthropic Society, "we can only look upon them as our fellow-creatures; as partaking of our common nature, with all its frailty and corruption, and with all its dignity, its high destinies, and boundless prospects; but placed, by the inscrutable dispensations of Providence, in a situation widely different from ours. And when we reflect on the disadvantages to which they have been subjected, and on the privileges which we have enjoyed, can we help asking ourselves, whether the vast difference between our lot and theirs has been owing, either to their fault or to our merit? But, when the difference of circumstances affects the interests, not merely of time, but of eternity: when the health and safety of the soul, and its final doom, the means of grace and the hopes of glory are at stake,—then, to be distinguished by peculiar advantages, to abound while others want, is indeed a high and precious privilege: but it is, likewise, a most mysterious and awful one, and, to a well-disposed mind, it would be almost an insupportable burden, unless it were accompanied by the consciousness of an endeavour to make a right use of it, and of a wish to communicate it, as far as possible, to others."

So must every true Christian think, and be ready

to say, with the holy apostle: "Who hath made us to differ?" or, with the blessed martyr, when he saw a criminal pass to execution, "Only for the grace of God there goes John Bradford." Indeed, the individual who is farthest from sympathy with the crime, or, in other words, has imbibed most of the spirit of Jesus, has generally the largest share of pity for the criminal. *He, who alone was without sin, had of all that ever lived upon earth, most compassion for the sinner.*

But, waiving such high considerations, there are others which cannot fail to have weight with the reflective and humane. *All* prisoners are not guilty. Of the individuals committed to prison for trial, in any year, there will be found about one in twenty, or in the aggregate 4,000 or 5,000, against whom, either no bills will be found by the grand jury, or who will gain their acquittal at the bar. Now, a large number of these are really innocent. Of the condemned, even, some are subsequently proved to be innocent, and are discharged by the Crown. This is, it is true, a very rare occurrence; but it happens sufficiently often to justify a larger amount of charity towards prisoners in the mass, than many are willing to concede.

There is another class, which, although guilty, and depraved, often in the highest degree, cannot be viewed without emotions of deep concern.

I refer to the dupes and tools of primarily guilty parties in concerted robberies, and, amongst female prisoners, to the victims of wicked seducers, or

diabolical persons of their own sex,* who having been beguiled, betrayed, or *sold for money*, have after a little while been cast into the streets to perish, and to spread around, in their moral death, a contagion which affects the moral as well as the physical health of multitudes. Over these a Christian may weep and not be ashamed, when he remembers the example of his Lord.

It is a melancholy view of the subject, which a prison chaplain, rehearsing proofs of the magnitude of *known* crime, must give, when he declares that some of the most heinous crimes, which are too the cause of a long train of others, are little cognizable by human law. Surely, there is a judgment to come, in which "God shall render to every man according to his works."

Then there are many in a prison who have fallen into dishonest acts by a temptation the force of which none but the very poor can really know: the pangs of hunger in their own ill-fed bodies, or their children's cry for bread when they had none to give. There are the ignorant also, *who had never the opportunity of instruction;* and the children of drunken and unchaste parents, who, if not actually trained to infamy, have been left to shift for themselves at the tenderest age, under circumstances and in places wholly adverse to virtue or common honesty, indeed, almost incompatible with either,—

* There are not less probably than 400 abominable miscreants in London alone, of both sexes, apparently respectable, who get their living by inveigling poor girls into a course of infamy.

capable as I have said, at one time of being trained for useful life, but, neglected when it was possible, they have been made miserable outcasts, a pest, a burden, and disgrace to the community, which can hardly ever be got rid of.

One class more of prisoners may be named, over whose degraded condition, pity may drop a tear,—the educated and well brought up.

Such was the writer of the following lines within these walls:—

"TO A WITHERED LEAF.

"'Wither'd leaflet, wildly dancing
In the autumn's chilly breeze,
While the morning sunbeams, glancing,
Flicker through the sighing trees—
Laurel leaflet, prithee say,
Whither speeding now away?'

"'Care-worn mortal, wistful eyeing
As I hurry headlong by,
Soon thou'lt see me lowly lying,
Cast in some lone place to die;
And the fate which falls to me
Will not linger long from thee.

"'When the rays of summer morning
Fell on yonder laurel bough,
Bright I shone, the future scorning—
So in heedless youth didst thou.
Falls that burning tear I see
For thyself, or is 't for me?

"'Balmy zephyrs, gently blowing,
Nourish'd me with silvery dew;
O'er me thus, in beauty growing,
Quick the genial season flew:

So hath pass'd thy summer time,
When young life was in its prime.

"'Wither'd now and tempest-driven,
See me fly before the gale:
Ne'er to me shall rest be given,
Till in yonder peaceful dale
I am trodden deep in earth,
Whence I had my primal birth.'

"Thine my wretched fate resembles—
Now beneath the chilling blast,
Lo! my coward spirit trembles,
From its hopes for ever cast!
Oh, to lie in death with thee,
By some aged moss-grown tree!"

"These lines," he adds, "embody something deeper than a passing sentiment. They were composed in the exercise-ground of a prison, where, on a fine, clear July morning, the fresh breeze blew a brown, withered laurel leaf over the head of one whose lot in life might have been as happy as waywardness and guilt have made it miserable."

What Christian can read that note and moral, written by the prisoner's hand, and that last and saddest sentiment,—

"Oh, to lie in death with thee!"

so expressive of a state of mind without Christ, and having no hope beyond the grave,—and not feel a desire to bring comfort, if possible, and salvation to his heart? Alas! he knew the way to seek it, but he sought it not. His mind was absorbed with literary trifles, poetical fragments, and pagan fables —common sense seemed utterly to have left him, and religion was wholly distasteful.

The following lines by another Pentonville prisoner, with less poetic merit, breathe a better spirit.

"THE PRISON BELL.

"'Twas night—and through my lonely cell
The pale moon's playful shadows fell;
So bright—I dreamt that all on earth
Was changed once more to smiles and mirth,
That tears were fled, that sighs were flown,
And so were all the griefs I'd known.
I woke, alas! but through that cell
There echoed still the Prison Bell.

"The morning dawn'd—the rising sun
His glorious course through heaven begun,
And honest toil, with hast'ning stride,
Went whistling by the prison side;
While I in bonds, with heart downcast,
Deep grieving present and the past,
Lay half unconscious in my cell,
Till summoned by the Prison Bell.

"Day closed—and when all days are past,
And I on death's dark waves am cast,
May there a pitying Saviour be
To set the captive prisoner free:
Then tears no more shall tinge my cheek,
Nor griefs my bleeding bosom break,
For I in endless joy shall dwell,
And hear no more the Prison Bell."

Often, doubtless, have the thoughts of the curious and imaginative, the deep feeling of the benevolent, and the pious aspirations of the Christian inhabitants of this part of the metropolis, been awakened by the sight of our prison. The gloomy aspect of its massive porch perhaps attracted attention; the

cheerless monotony of its shrill matin and vesper bell has struck painfully on the ear; or its 500 solitary lamps have met the eye, extinguished successively, as the clock strikes nine, by an unseen hand—emblem of happiness extinguished by the just providence of God, and which His mercy alone in Christ Jesus can light up again. But whilst the thoughts of the free thus scaled the prison wall, and passed from cell to cell in silent observation, perhaps they little imagined that the captive's mind—as free as theirs, but pensive and mourning—was roaming without, mixed with the busy throng or noisy crowd, longing to drink again the cup of pleasure, or wishing to discharge neglected duties, and soothe hearts broken by his misconduct.

There remain two points to which, before I close this chapter, I would direct the reader's attention. They are worthy of deepest thought and feeling. I refer to the cup of sorrow which the innocent relatives of the prisoners are doomed to drink, and the terrible remorse and anguish which, when he comes to himself, the prisoner is made to feel on their account. It is a cruel mistake to suppose the connexions of all criminals bad, it is often the very reverse. One of our most painful duties, as Christian ministers in this place, is to endeavour to bind up the broken hearts of such persons. Never truly did I witness before such heart-rending scenes, nor ever more devoted family attachments, than I have seen since I became chaplain of a gaol.

It is a very sad reflection, that human punish-

ments fall so frequently with greater weight upon the virtuous relative than the guilty criminal. Indeed, the higher the degree of innocence, the more sensitive is the feeling of the infamy attached, so undeservedly, but so commonly, to the family in which a son, a husband, or a brother, has been convicted of crime. Oh! that young people would pause and consider what misery and ruin the *first* act of rebellion against a father's command or mother's counsel—the *first* sabbath profaned—the *first* improper connexion formed, may bring upon those who love them so tenderly, as well as upon themselves. Little do they think, at the moment of indulgence or waywardness, what remorse, on this account, they are creating for themselves in after life.

It often falls to our painful lot to communicate to prisoners the death of relatives. Upon many of these occasions the first burst of grief is very affecting, and the expression at the moment often escapes the lips: "I have been the cause; I have broken my poor mother's heart; I have brought my father's grey hairs with sorrow to the grave!" In one year I counted the number of those who said so to me, and found that out of about 600 prisoners *fifteen had this intolerable burden upon their consciences*, in addition to all their sins.

The accompanying letter from a prisoner under such circumstances will speak more to the heart than any description of mine. To the intensity of the writer's grief I can bear witness, and, through

the grace of God, to his subsequently hopeful and consistent profession as a Christian.

He was a Highland soldier, sentenced to transportation for striking, in a fit of drunkenness, a non-commissioned officer :—

"My Dear Sister,

"I received your letter, and I need not say that I was grieved to the heart. But what makes it lie heavier on my heart is my undutiful conduct. If I had been a kind son, this stroke would have been less severe. But I cannot describe to you the remorse that is within me at the present moment. I am convinced that my cruel and unfeeling conduct has hastened our dear mother's death—the mother that was so kind to me—so affectionate to one who had the hardness of heart to leave her when I should have been a help and protection; not only so, but to throw disgrace upon her unspotted name, by being the mother of a transport. This has given me many a sore heart; but I was living in the expectation that I would wipe that stain off my character by a new and dutiful life, if the Lord should spare me to regain my liberty. But God has taken away her who it was my earnest prayer should see the change. Oh! if God had spared the life of our mother till she was gratified with the sight of her unworthy son, that she might have blessed him, and that he should have acted the part of a son in carrying her to the grave! But His will, and not ours, be done. That this sacred duty should be left to a stranger! All her kindness rushes now on my mind, and accuses me of being a heartless scoundrel.

"And you, my dear sister, have been afflicted in a double manner: you have lost your promising boy. The Lord has been pleased to afflict us severely for our sins. Let us fly to Him, that He would remove His hand from us, and we, acknowledging his visitation, for the future live only to His service. And let us pray for one another, and console ourselves in the hope that our dear mother and the dear boy are enjoying one another's society in heaven; and that we strive to enter into the same place, never to part more, where there will be no grief to wring our hearts.

"My dear sister, God, who sees our hearts, only knows how I

feel for your situation. I am of no use to you, instead of being your protector, and the conductor of our blessed mother's remains to the grave. Few are the tears I have shed. It seems to me as if my heart would burst, but no tears. Not even our brother-in-law can follow our mother's remains to the grave. But although the hand of a stranger shall lower her body into the pit, let us hope that the husband of her youth, and the children gone before, shall welcome her spirit to heaven, through the sake of that Saviour in whom she trusted.

"A. M. P."

On looking over the copy-books, distributed to prisoners from time to time, I subsequently found in this young man's the following prayers, written before his mother's death :—

"O Lord God, my heavenly Father, I here prostrate myself before Thee to beg Thy blessing, grace, and mercy upon my earthly parent. Cast her not away in the time of her old age, forsake her not when her strength fails, but have compassion, Lord, on her infirmities, and help her in all her weakness! O that the true wisdom may be in her, and abundant grace upon her, that her hoary head may be found in the way of righteousness, and her soul be ever precious in Thy sight. Let goodness and mercy follow her all the days of her life. Let her last days be her best days ; and the longer she lives in this world, make her the fitter to die, and to dwell with Thy blessed self in life everlasting. O be Thou her guide until death, and in death her support and comfort ; and when heart and flesh, and all here shall fail her, O do Thou never fail her, but be the strength of her heart, and her portion for evermore. Amen."

"O Lord, my God, infinitely kind and good, I have, through Thy gracious indulgence, long enjoyed my freedom in the world. But now that I am under restraint and confined to this place, O how much sore affliction ought I with patience to endure, for turning my liberty into licentiousness, and for wandering (as I have done) from Thee, and wearying myself in the ways of wickedness! This confinement I acknowledge to be but a light correction indeed to one who deserves to be shut up in the

eternal prison, from whence there is no redemption. But for Thy dear Son, my blessed Saviour's sake, I beg, Lord, that this restraint may be not in judgment, but in mercy to me; that it may bring me to timely consideration, and to a deep repentance for all those sinful liberties which I have taken. Let it remove me out of the way of temptations, and engage me more closely and dutifully to attend upon Thee, that in Thy service I may find a better freedom than that which I have lost. Let me obtain, by means of it, a freer access into Thy presence, and power to tread down the enemies of my soul whensoever they rise up against me. O that now I am sequestered from the world, I may also be crucified unto it, and may leave it in affection, as I am shut out from its conversation. Let me in heart and mind ascend and dwell above, and have my conversation in heaven, and enjoy such fellowship with Thee, my God and Saviour, as shall be infinitely preferable to all the society and enjoyments of the world. If the Son of God shall make me free, I shall be free indeed. O pity me, tied as I am and 'bound with the chain of my sins.' Bring my *soul* out of prison, that I may give thanks unto Thy name. 'Set my feet in a large room, that I may be at liberty to run the way of Thy commandments.' Then, however confined as to my body, even though I were to lie in a gaol or a dungeon, I should be 'a prisoner of hope, looking for that blessed hope to be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God.' I ask this, for the sake of Him who was apprehended, and confined, and put to death for us, and now liveth and reigneth with Thy eternal self and Holy Spirit over all, God blessed for evermore. Amen."

Thus—

"Short is the course of every lawless pleasure;
Grief, like a shade, on all its footsteps waits,
Scarce visible in joy's meridian height;
But downward as its blaze declining speeds,
The dwarfish shadow to a giant spreads."

MILTON.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHARACTER AND CHIEF CAUSES OF CRIME IN ENGLAND.

"Nemo repente fuit turpissimus."

MACAULAY, in his brilliant pages, gives the following account of the social state of England in bygone times :—

"In the reign of Charles II., the traces left by ages of slaughter and pillage were still distinctly perceptible, many miles south of the Tweed, in the face of the country, and in the lawless manners of the people. There was still a large class of moss-troopers, whose calling was to plunder dwellings, and to drive away whole herds of cattle. It was found necessary, soon after the Restoration, to enact laws of great severity, for the prevention of these outrages. The magistrates of Northumberland and Cumberland were authorised to raise bands of armed men, for the defence of property and order; and provision was made for meeting the expense of these levies by local taxation. The parishes were required to keep bloodhounds, for the purpose of hunting the freebooters. Many old men, who were living in the middle of the eighteenth century, could well remember the time when

those ferocious dogs were common. Yet, even with such auxiliaries, it was often found impossible to track the robbers to their retreats, among the hills and morasses; for the geography of that wild country was very imperfectly known. Even after the accession of George III., the path over the fells, from Borrowdale to Ravenglass, was still a secret carefully kept by the Dalesmen, some of whom had probably in their youth escaped from the pursuit of justice by that road. The seats of the gentry and the large farm-houses were fortified. Oxen were penned at night beneath the overhanging battlements of the residence, which was known by the name of the Peel. The inmates slept with arms at their sides; huge stones and boiling water were in readiness to crush and scald the plunderer who might venture to assail the little garrison. No traveller ventured into that country without making his will. The judges on circuit, with the whole body of barristers, attorneys, clerks, and serving men, rode on horseback from Newcastle to Carlisle, armed and escorted by a strong guard, under the command of the sheriffs It was necessary to carry provisions; for the country was a wilderness, which afforded no supplies. The spot where the cavalcade halted to dine, under an immense oak, is not yet forgotten. The irregular vigour with which criminal justice was administered, shocked observers whose life had been passed in more tranquil districts. Juries, animated by hatred, and a sense of common danger, convicted housebreakers and cattle

stealers with the promptitude of a court-martial in a mutiny, and the convicts were hurried by scores to the gallows. Within the memory of some who are still living, the sportsman who wandered in pursuit of game to the sources of the Tyne, found the heaths, round Keeldar Castle, peopled by a race scarcely less savage than the Indians of California; and heard with surprise, the half-naked women chanting a wild measure, while the men, with brandished dirks, danced a war-dance."

This retrospect is consolatory to one viewing the evils of the present times. England, after all, is not retrograde.

The following account from the *Athenæum* of the daring conduct of Italian brigands, not long since, shows that this cannot be affirmed of other parts of Europe:—

"About eight o'clock in the evening, the greater part of the inhabitants of the town of Forlini-Popoli —a place of about 4,000 inhabitants, and within less than three miles of the considerable city of Forli, to which in some measure it forms a suburb —were assembled in the theatre to witness the performance of 'The Death of Cæsar.' The first act of the play was over, and the curtain had fallen, when it was again suddenly raised, and discovered to the audience not the *artistes* of the theatre, but a picked company of brigands of the band of Pessatore! These ruffians were plentifully supplied with carbines and pistols, and were not slow in reducing the audience to inactivity, by threatening to fire on the first

person who attempted any resistance. In a few moments all the avenues to the theatre were seized by another and more numerous detachment of the gang, and every person in the building was placed entirely at the mercy of the invaders. When the agitation had a little subsided, and the captain of the band had still further completed his command over the town, he politely advanced to the front of the stage, and said, 'Ladies and gentlemen, you will perfectly understand, by this time, that we are your masters. Behold, here are the keys of your city' (producing the keys); 'any resistance on your part can only compel us to go to extremities, which, if you please, you may avert. Understand, then, what you have to do. I shall proceed to pronounce the names of several among you; and on the instant that I pronounce the names of any of this audience, I expect that particular person to step at once out of his seat, and hasten to his house with one of my friends, who will assist him to convey here all the money he has in his possession, without leaving behind a single *papetto*.' The orator drew from his girdle a list, and at once commenced the proscription. The first person summoned was the Gonfalonier, or chief officer of the town; and as six of the twelve dragoons of the Papal force, who formed the garrison of Forlini-Popoli, had been already secured in the theatre, and the other six locked up in their own guard-house, the Gonfalonier and his fellow-citizens found themselves compelled to submit to the brigand's terms. The process of

individual assessment by means of these domiciliary visits was of course rather tedious; and by way of engaging the attention of the rest of the audience during the interval, the most expert of the band undertook a tour through the different parts of the theatre, collecting into a capacious pouch, the chains, ear-rings, purses, loose cash, ornaments, and choice articles of dress of the less aristocratic part of the spectators. By midnight the spoliation of the town of Forlini-Popoli, its theatre, its inhabitants, its garrison, and its Gonfalonier, was complete; and Pessatore led off his freebooters in perfect safety, carrying with him a sum of about £1200 in money, and about £2000 in jewels and ornaments. On the following day, of course, a strong detachment of Austrian and Papal troops, from the regiments stationed at Forli, were sent off in hot pursuit of the robbers; but long before these lumbering myrmidons of justice could be put in motion, Pessatore could have dispersed his men among the fastnesses of the Apennines, or perhaps led them far across the Tuscan frontier.—Surely these are facts which exhibit in the plainest manner the imbecile and miserable condition of the governments which profess to rule the Italian provinces. In this country there has been nothing like the sack of Forlini-Popoli by the banditti of Pessatore since the time of the Border Wars; and it is very probable that, if we put down the material and political civilization of South Italy at about three hundred years behind that of these islands, we

shall not be very wide of the truth. We must also endeavour to form some idea of the abject condition of a population where it is better worth the while of its more intelligent and active men to become banditti than to become industrious citizens."

"One of the brigands," writes the Roman correspondent of the *Daily News*, concerning another transaction, "who recently extorted 6,000 scudi for the ransom of an inhabitant of Terracina, has been captured. The system adopted by these scoundrels, on gaining possession of a wealthy victim, is to cast lots amongst themselves who shall undertake the perilous message of venturing into the town to inform the prisoner's relations of the sum required for his release. The messenger presents himself with the unwelcome tidings, adding, that if he is in any way denounced, or prevented from returning to his expectant comrades by a certain hour the prisoner will be murdered. Anxiety for the hostage usually insures the safety of the brigand, who returns to the mountains with a messenger from the family, bearing the required sum of money. If the first brigand sentry perceives more than one individual accompanying his comrade, or that one armed, or discovers any appearance of gendarmes, he fires his musket as a signal of alarm to the band, who immediately stab their victim, shout *tradimento*, and make off to a more distant lair. If, on the other hand, the appearance of the messenger and money-bag is *en règle*, the intelligence is conveyed from sentry to sentry, the hostage brought

down and consigned to the messenger, who pays his money and departs homewards with as calm a step as he and his released friend can muster on the occasion."

The aspect of crime, however, in England and in our times, is sufficiently serious to merit the most thoughtful investigation of its probable causes, and to demand from every one, in the writer's position, the best help he can afford, towards the satisfactory solution of its difficulties.

Under a sense, then, of grave responsibility, I proceed to the consideration of the subject, supplying to the reader, in the first place, a series of *facts* concerning criminals, who were for a long time under my own care, which seem to me calculated to remove some generally received incorrect ideas on the subject.

The labours of the statistician, I am well aware, have little of the character of mathematical certainty—criminal statistics, least of all. The parties examined have, or imagine they have, an interest in falling in with the opinions of their superiors. They have, in too many cases, the ability, moreover, and the wish, to deceive. At all events, persons so placed, naturally throw undue blame on circumstances, and especially on such as are thought to extenuate crime—as ignorance, drunkenness, and the like.

I have no wish that my observations should be considered above all necessity for caution. Let them be compared with the statements of others, having

like opportunities. All I can say is, that they are the result of long, patient, and impartial research, on a subject important as it is difficult.

First, on education :—

Of the first 1,000 convicts, as they stand on the registry of this prison, in order (and the history of subequent thousands is not materially different), 845 had attended some sort of school, as children, for periods averaging about four years. Of these, 347 had received education in schools kept by private persons, 221 in national schools, 20 in grammar-schools, 92 in Sabbath-schools, and 160 in other kinds. The attainments of these men were not equal to their opportunities. More than half could not read with *understanding*, or write their own letters; and 758 had no knowledge of any rule in arithmetic beyond addition. The disproportion between the periods of instruction, which these persons had enjoyed in early life, and their state of progress when examined in prison, is to be accounted for, probably, by the indifferent character of the education itself, their own more than ordinary waywardness, and the labouring condition of life of by far the greater part.

The convicts who could read with intelligence were readers only of the light and trifling productions of the day. Their minds were, therefore, like an unweeded garden, in which the useless predominated. The less educated had not tried, when at liberty, to improve themselves in education. There was no thirst for wholesome knowledge.

It is most deplorable to observe, that as many as 15 in the 1,000 were men of liberal education. Three of these were schoolmasters, possessed of more than ordinary talents and acquirements; one had stolen books, the others were condemned for forgery. The cause of the ruin of these individuals was plainly marked—frequenting taverns, and other places of resort, where their abilities enabled them to take the lead. This drew two of them into habits of intemperance, and the third, a man of extensive reading and some genius, to gambling.

The knowledge of revealed religion, in all classes, was less than of secular subjects. Children of nine or ten years of age, in a well-ordered Christian family, know as much as the very best informed in this respect, with very few exceptions. These exceptions were found where some degree of piety had marked the father or mother. Of children, trained at all aright, the number is small indeed, which we have had the pain of seeing here in the character of the felon and the outcast; but in such melancholy cases—that is, where there seem to have been any pains bestowed, even by one parent, to train up the child in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, there is in general more than ordinary ground for hope. There exists a chord in the hearts of such still, even when apparently most callous, which can be touched. The last thing forgotten, in all the recklessness of dissolute profligacy, is the prayer or hymn taught by a mother's lips, or uttered at a father's knee; and the most poignant sting of con-

science, in solitude and adversity, is that which the recollection of filial disobedience and ingratitude inflicts.

Dividing the prisoners into classes, according to previous education, I ascertained that two-thirds of the crimes of those described upon reception as *well-educated*, were forgery and embezzlement; also, that the total amount of property, taken by 1,000 prisoners, being, according to its estimated value on trial, upwards of £20,000—the average proportion to be set to the account of each man, in *the well-educated* class, was above £50, but in the most ignorant class, below £5. Further, only ten per cent. of the well-educated seem to have fallen through strong drink, but they were almost all frequenters of evening entertainments, licentious and extravagant. Some were plainly ruined by gambling. The same love of excitement, and of unlawful or dangerous pleasures, marks all the classes, varying, according to grade in life, and descending from the tavern or saloon to the beer-house or gin-shop. As we descend in the scale of education, the proportion increases of those who fell from strong drink. In the lowest class, full 50 per cent. fell from habits of drinking in public houses. In crimes of violence, a larger proportion exists; and the military offences which have come under our notice, have been, *in almost all cases*, the result of strong drink. Drunken habits, however, the source of such multiform misery, disqualify, like gross ignorance, for success in *thieving*.

Here arises a most important question. Had these convicts fewer opportunities, or even smaller attainments, than the classes of the population in general from which they came? Probably, not at all. What, then! is education of no value as a preventive of crime? Education, as it is generally communicated, is worth nothing for any purpose, good or evil. The scanty and imperfect knowledge acquired in school is soon lost in the hard daily labour or service to which the poorer classes are so early consigned. Education, intellectually what it ought to be, is, to persons of good natural sense, or who are surrounded by circumstances favourable to virtue, of great value in a temporal point of view; and, if they are really Christian, it increases greatly their usefulness. It advances the possessor in the social scale, and supplies sources of enjoyment superior to the indulgence of the more sordid or sensual appetites. To those who are without good common sense, or real religious principle, it is a dubious benefit. It removes some of the grosser temptations; it suggests others, which often lead to worse results. New desires are created; wants are multiplied beyond means; steady, plodding labour is despised; the dress is altered, and the outward appearance perhaps improved;—the inner man is unchanged. Education, without motive and sound Christian principles, is as the moving power to machinery which has no regulator, or as wide-spread sails to a ship which has neither chart nor compass to steer by. Mere education changes the

character of crime. It gives increased power to the dishonest for planning schemes of robbery, and then of concealment and escape from justice. Education, based on a Divine foundation, and carried out in its fair proportions by Christian instructors, is of inestimable value.

If asked to state the comparative value which experience has led me to place upon the different sorts of education, in their bearings upon religious or merely social obligations, I should place first of all that education which has received its first impulse from a pious mother's lips, and is carried on under a godly father, who inculcates, by his own example and by cheerful discourse in the family, lessons of wisdom and truth, until the impression is made upon his children, that independent, hard-working honesty is infinitely better than riches without right, or advancement in life without fitness, and who honours God by a stated religious service in his family daily, and by the solemn, but *happy*, observance of the Sabbath. Next would be the instruction given in the really Christian Sunday-school; and so on, downwards, from that which is religious in the highest sense, and only secondarily educational, to that which is highly intellectual, but godless.

Indeed, I must acknowledge, confining my view still to the unhappy class with which I have had to do, that where the desires were enlarged by an increased grasp of mind consequent upon cultivation, but not satisfied with that which alone meets

the wants of the soul, the individual only became more expert in wickedness, more mischievous, and more miserable. This experience of a Gaol-Chaplain manifestly agrees with every intelligent person's in ordinary life; for few persons, whatever may be their own religious character, selecting a servant or agent to whom much was to be intrusted, would hesitate to choose for the purpose the member of a simple godly family, in preference to the better educated, and more clever person, known to have been reared by those who feared not God,—an involuntary homage, truly, of the world's experience to Divine truth!

Next let us look *at the means of living* which these criminals had. Of the 1,000 convicts, 67 had been employed in office of trust, 71 as in-door and out-door servants, 388 were tradesmen and mechanics, 50 weavers and factory-labourers, 100 farm-labourers, 25 colliers, 15 boatmen, 10 common sailors, 18 in the army and navy, and 256 general labourers and hawkers. Their average earnings (until character was lost) amounted, in the well-educated, to upwards of 40*s.* weekly; in the next highest school class to about 25*s.*; in the next to 15*s.*; and in the lowest to 12*s.* I expected to find scarcely any who had saved money from their earnings; but as many as thirty-nine had put by money from their wages beyond common annual savings for clothes. This money was lost, in general, subsequently by gambling, speculation, business, or sudden fits of extravagance, which broke through

all bounds. These facts point rather to the mode of spending earnings, than their inadequacy or want of employment, as a cause of crime. Natural poverty is no doubt a cause of crime, but poverty which is the result of a bad course of life, of very much more.

It is distressing to see, in these returns, so many as sixty-seven persons, previously engaged in places of trust, and seventy-one domestic servants, all young men who began life a few years back with excellent prospects, according to their station. Exposed, alas! to all the seductive snares of our great towns,—betting-houses, theatres, concerts, dancing, billiard-rooms, &c., in most cases without sufficient warning as to what was before them, or one wise and friendly hand at first to steady and direct their course,—without home, without religion, —they miserably fell, involving others as well as themselves in ruin and disgrace. Few masters care, as they ought to do, for the young people whom Providence has placed under their direction and control. Many, alas! instead of guarding and helping their servants against temptations, put them in their way; and instances are, alas! too frequent, of employers directly teaching and requiring their shopmen and shopwomen to be dishonest, to defraud the public, and otherwise corrupting their morals to such a degree, that to retain their situation, and at the same time their integrity and virtue, is perfectly impossible.

It would be well if all, who, being placed at the head of a family or business establishment, have a

conscience in this matter, would examine themselves as suggested by the good Bishop in the sermon already referred to.

"Has all the influence which you derive from your station in society been uniformly exerted to promote piety and virtue? Has the tendency of your example, and of your conversation, been always wholesome and edifying to those who have been looking up to you for countenance and authority, for instruction or advice? Or, rather, ought I not to put the question in a different form? Are you sure that you have not contributed, if not by positive and flagrant breaches of morality, at least by your carelessness and indifference, by your levity and neglect, by some of those idle words of which we shall have to give account in the day of judgment, through some of those innumerable channels by which evil communications corrupt good manners;—are you sure, I say, that you have not contributed, directly or indirectly, more or less, to increase the amount of that licentiousness, guilt, and misery, against which it is the object of this Institution (the Philanthropic) to provide a remedy? I fear there are few amongst us, who, if we would seriously examine ourselves, and review our past lives, as in the Divine presence, would not find that they have something of this kind to answer for."

Oh, that heads of houses did but consider what terrible destruction to the virtue and happiness of the most promising young persons in situations of

trust or service, even *carelessness* and *want of proper discipline* on the part of masters, have produced upon many to my knowledge! I could recite many a painful tale of the kind, from my own experience, and shall have to refer to not a few in a subsequent chapter. I prefer here to give an illustration from another source, of a most touching and instructive character, in the hope of directing the reader to a work, which every master and every mistress especially, should read,—"The Prisoners of Australia" (Hatchard).

"Another instance," writes the pious authoress, "is that of a woman, now also a convict at Sydney, sentenced to transportation for life upon the charge of robbing, to a considerable extent, the lady with whom she had lived for *many years*, in the high and respectable capacity of lady's-maid. Her history, too, is replete with the lamentable results arising from an irreligious mistress; but we will not detail more than a brief outline of her story. She was most respectably connected, entered service in her nineteenth year, and became exceedingly attached to her mistress, who deemed her worthy of unbounded confidence. But she totally neglected all her religious duties, was persuaded to believe it no harm to work on Sundays, which her mistress frequently required her to do; she rarely went to church; she never prayed; nor did she even read her Bible. On returning to England, after an absence of some months on the Continent, whither she had accompanied her mistress, she passed a

short time with a sister who lived as upper servant in a pious family; and who, grieving to see the total indifference of poor Maria to all that concerned a future state, ventured seriously to expostulate with her upon the sin of remaining longer in a family whose ungodly habits had so fatally influenced her own mind; earnestly reminding her, that no blessing could rest upon such an engagement, however lucrative it might be. But it was all in vain. She was happy and prosperous in a worldly sense, and, scorning the affectionate, and, as she thought, the 'puritanical' counsel of her sister, she returned to where she feared neither God nor man, in her thoughtless course of impiety. Soon did that sister, whose warning she despised, see her again—but it was *in a prison!* She wept over her, prayed for her, and, without a reproach, now patiently endeavoured to urge her to 'repent and believe;' and it was then, as she told me herself, that she would have given all she possessed, could she have begun life again as the poorest and meanest of creatures,—to be the humble, honest, happy Christian, which *she* was whose religion she had so often ridiculed and denied. Vain was now alike the wish and the regret! Allured by a bad man to commit a deed of the most aggravated dishonesty, and that, too, against a mistress who, with all her faults, had loved and trusted her—she was about to suffer for life the just but dreadful sentence of perpetual exile. Yet, it is a striking fact, that, softened and self-condemned as she was, in many

respects, she expressed a bitterness of remembrance towards her mistress, tracing all her own wickedness to the ungodliness in which, under her guardianship and example, she had been trained—both painful to hear, and unprincipled in her to admit, against one who had been, to her at least, a kind and generous benefactress. True, it manifested the worst soil of human nature, untouched by Divine grace; but would it have thus sprung up in weeds of such deadly and unhallowed passion, had it been cultured, watered, and planted with seeds of heavenly instruction, by the hand of a Christian guardian? No; bad and ungrateful as the reproach was, uttered under such circumstances, what was it but the *reaction of principles;* evil falling back upon evil; 'the grain reproduced, but with thorns around the ear?' for, 'Whatsoever a man soweth, that also shall he reap.'"

To recur to the table of occupations of the 1000 prisoners: one is astonished at finding in that return so small a proportion of the most ignorant and neglected part of the whole community—factory labourers, colliers, and boatmen. There is no cause for rejoicing, however, in any superior morality in these classes. An acquaintance with them in their own districts, as well as in prison, enables me to speak with greater confidence on this point; the causes of the small proportion of criminals in those classes being, rather that their wants are few; that they are accustomed from their childhood to the hardest toil, and that, worn out by overwork, they

have little energy left for good or evil. Such a condition is far from satisfactory. It is due to society, to humanity, and to religion, to elevate such classes, by proper intellectual cultivation, to their proper station in a Christian land; and I am fully persuaded, that thereby gross *moral turpitude* would be greatly diminished,—although, at the same time, prepared to expect, from an enlargement of their desires by education, and their acquired notions of refinement, an increased craving for money: and, from their increased power to do evil, as well as good, an increase of crime as well as an increase of virtue.

Let the *domestic condition* of the same convicts, antecedent to legal criminality, now be viewed. The proportion of the married to the single amongst these convicts (whose age is from about twenty to forty years), is the very reverse of that which exists in a sound state of society. Three-fourths were without the means appointed by God for the security of man against a sin which most prominently marks criminals, and which is so conspicuously disastrous in its consequences to youth, not in the matter of crime only, but of social degradation, and bodily and mental disorder also. In considering the causes of legal crime in those convicts, we have, in fact, been only viewing so many profligate persons, who, not having the fear of God before their eyes, and driven by their dissolute habits to the urgent want of money, were led to commit acts of dishonesty to right them-

selves, and again go on in their licentiousness. With regard to the married convicts, the greater part had no excuse for the wicked course they pursued, in the character of their homes. Beginning with drinking, and the neglect of their families and place of worship, for the excitement of the ale-house, or other improper place of resort, they went on to form associations with abandoned women and men, and consummated their career by crimes from which they would, at first, have shrunk with horror. Many of the number, nevertheless, had no home such as it ought to be, and such as it would be if more attention were paid to the thorough training of young women for domestic life. When home is not a rest to a labouring man; or when, what is worse, dissatisfaction, suspicion, and jealousy enter his mind, from the conduct of his partner, the public-house is looked to for relief, and ruin comes upon all. The want of a home stands prominent in the history of my whole people. The greater part were without its blessed influences; a good number through their own sad wilfulness and a desire to be *free;* some from unhappy circumstances,—as the death, or profligacy of parents, or the second marriages of a father or mother; a great many, from ambition or covetousness, desiring to better their condition, when they were favourably situated, as regards virtue; but not a few, also, from the impulse of those necessary laws of society which enjoin upon every one grown up, independent labour, al-

though it may, unhappily, be far from home and kindred.

The *total absence of religion* in these men previously is even a more prominent feature of their condition than the want of home associations. That one expression in our ancient form of law, "Not having the fear of God before their eyes," describes their previous state in this respect. In the greater number of instances, this fear had never been implanted; and in the rest, by indulgence in sin, it had almost disappeared. The following case may serve for an illustration:—A prisoner states, that, going into a part of the premises on which he was employed in farm-service, he saw the carter's box accidentally left open, and in this a smaller one, which he had reason to think contained the proceeds of a sale of farm produce, just effected. He opened the box, and counted the gold, but, terrified with thoughts of the consequences, put it back and went away; but the thirst for the gold followed him, and he returned and took it. He told me that at the time not one thought of God passed his mind: "if it had, he could not have done the deed; for, as it was, he had a struggle." It was his first offence against the laws of his country.

In the 1000 there was less infidelity than I was led to expect. Where it did exist, it appeared rather as the consequence of a reckless and abandoned life, than as the cause. The mass, however, were practically atheistic—"without Christ, having no hope, and without God in the world." About one-fourth

of the prisoners were stated to have regularly attended, at one time of their lives, some place of worship; *but not more than* 1 *in a* 100 *a short time previous to crime.*

Another mark of irreligion in these young men was their neglect of parental counsel,—their disobedience to authority. No one sentence so often strikes the eye in reading prisoners' letters to parents as this: "Had I taken your advice, I never would have been here." No sin is more universally brought to remembrance amongst criminals than filial disobedience, nor is any remorse more poignant. I have seen the stoutest men subdued, and the almost reprobate crying like children, at the recollection of despised instruction or warning from a mother's or father's lips. Sabbath-breaking, filial disobedience, licentiousness, and an inordinate desire for money, not in the way of accumulation, but to have to spend upon what is described in Holy Writ as "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life," were in a greater or less degree the prevailing characteristics of these criminals, and I believe of all. "The usual process," said the late Chaplain of Clerkenwell, speaking of the descent into crime of 100,000 prisoners, "has been impatience of parental restraint, violation of the Sabbath, and the neglect of religious ordinances. I do not recollect a single case of capital offence where the party has not been a Sabbath-breaker. Indeed, I may say, in reference to prisoners of all classes, that in nineteen cases out of twenty, they are persons

who have not only neglected the Sabbath, but all religious ordinances." They had cast off the fear of the Lord, and lived in open violation of those institutions and of that authority which the Creator has placed at the foundation of all social well-being and religion. It is no wonder, then, they were unable to resist temptation in one particular species of transgression, when opportunity and their imperious necessities urged them to its commission.

Thus far concerning the character and causes of crime in those 1000 convicts. I now proceed to give the results of more extended observation since the above facts were collected.

To make my statements more specific and intelligible, it will be best, perhaps, to view in classes the criminals of England and Wales.

1. We begin with those of the worst kind: viz. persons convicted of murder.*

The number of these is so small (less than one in a million of the population), that little need be said as to the causes of the crime itself, with reference to any remedy. The crime of murder in Great Britain forms a minute though terrible exception to the

* The average commitments for murder in England and Wales is the same for the last ten years as in the ten preceding, viz. sixty-seven; the average *convictions* also nearly the same, being under twenty annually. The greater publicity given of late to the crimes of enormously guilty persons, and the uncommon prolongation of *preliminary* proceedings before coroners and magistrates, as well as subsequently of the trial itself, by the ingenious ability of advocates, have left the erroneous impression on the public mind that this crime is on the increase.

general character of the whole country. It is an isolated act. It excites the horror of the people, even in the lowest grades of society. It proceeds neither from popular ignorance nor from popular education. If the ignorance of some murderers be profound, the acute perception, great mental vigour, and good attainments of others, are no less remarkable. The worst species of this awful crime seem to have come, of late years, from persons more clever and better educated that the generality of their class.

Murder generally in England is the result of some sudden impulse, ungovernable passion, or execrable covetousness,—that *auri sacra fames* which so commonly characterizes the crimes of mankind.

In almost every case, however—even where the impulse seems to be most hasty—there has been a gradual depravation of morals and religion by specific sins, as adultery, fornication, and drunkenness. *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus.* The contrast, in respect of murder, between this country and other countries of Europe, may be judged of by the report of the Minister of Justice for France for 1849, in which the following numbers are given; (let it be observed, *there are no Coroners' inquests in France*) :—

"Among the number of prisoners accused of crimes against the person (6983) were :—

Parricides	19
For Poisoning . . .	35
Attempts at Murder . .	324

Infanticides	203
Murders	329
	910

Allowing for acquittals and population, this would give at least fifteen or twenty cases of murder in France in a million. Ireland, unhappily, resembles her continental friends more than she does England, in this particular; for, even in the improved state of things there in the same year, there were no fewer than "175 charged with murder and shooting at persons."

2. The next class of criminals to which I would refer, consists of those who are undergoing the penalty of the law for aggravated offences against the person, unnatural crimes, and the worst kind of robberies. This also is much less than is generally imagined.

The annual mean for eight years, ending about the same period, of persons transported for life was 153,—the number of life sentences, in 1842, being 220, or 1 in 73,266 of the population, but only 91 in 1849, or 1 in 195,235. The sentences in 1842, for 21 years and upwards, the next in severity, were 36; but in 1849, only 26.

In the returns of the French minister, we find the following enumeration of offences, which in this country would for the most part come under life sentences, or at least twenty-one years:—

Cutting and Wounding	516
False Swearing and Subornation of Perjury	75
Coining	121
Forgeries	508
Rape	260
Criminal Assaults on Children . . .	478
	1958

In the same category may be placed the greater part of the following crimes in Ireland:—

Manslaughter	150
Arson	155
Attacking Houses	108

The character as well as the amount of crime in Ireland, compared with England, shows how backward that country is still in civilization.

In Ireland, in 1849, 5275 were charged with offences against the person. In England, Wales, and Scotland, with a population more than treble, 2852; offences against property, with violence, were, in Ireland, 2682; in Great Britain, 2786: *malicious* offences against property in Ireland, 707; in Great Britain, 369. There has been since some improvement. (*See Appendix.*)

3. From the highest order of crime, let us turn now to the most venial in the estimation of the law; *i. e.* to cases summarily disposed of by the magistrate.

This is the largest class, and of late years, the

only one materially on the increase. Thus, whilst the number of more serious offences tried by jury at the assizes and sessions, has been gradually lessening being in 1842, 31,160, or 1 in 511 of the population; and in 1849, 28,752, or 1 in 615; the number of summary convictions, which was in 1842, 70,507, or 1 in 229, rose, in 1849, to 90,963, or 1 in 193.

It is important to notice some of the elements of this increase. There was an increase, then, of about 2000 under each of the following heads: malicious trespassing, police acts and assaults (chiefly in drunken broils and public-houses), the latter having risen to 12,968 in 1849. The increase under those heads no doubt is to be ascribed in part to the greater number and efficiency of the police, especially in rural parts, before but little protected; but it was chiefly caused by the vast increase in the formidable army of marauders, *the vagrants*, which from 20,888 in 1842, grew into 28,139 in 1849; and one is bound to state his persuasion, that were it not for the influx of a pauper and disorderly population from the sister island, for many years going on, but particularly of late, England would now be congratulating herself on the progressive and considerable annual decline in the number of her criminals.

The parish of Westminster will serve to illustrate these remarks. Of this locality we have the following graphic description from the pen of no less a personage than Dr. Wiseman:—

"Close under the Abbey of Westminster there lie concealed labyrinths of lanes, and courts, and alleys, and slums; nests of ignorance, vice, depravity, and *crime*, as well as of squalor, wretchedness, and disease; whose atmosphere is typhus, whose ventilation is cholera; in which swarms a huge and almost countless population, *in great measure, nominally at least, Catholic;* haunts of filth which no Sewage Committee can reach; dark corners which no Lighting Board can brighten. This is the part of Westminster which I covet, and which I shall be glad to claim and to visit, as a blessed pasture in which *sheep of Holy Church* are to be tended," &c.

"This witness is true!" It appears by a return from the House of Correction at *Westminster*, of the different religious persuasions of prisoners, from June 1, 1848, to May 31, 1849 (see Inspector of Prisons' Report), that more than one third were non-English, the numbers being:—

Of the Church of England .	5711
Roman Catholic . . .	3281
Other Dissenters . . .	195
	9187

The following account, of a single assizes lately held at York, by a barrister, presents a similar view.

"Number of prisoners:—

In the Calendar . . .	119
Out on Bail	7
Total . . .	126

Of these 27 were Irish: or about 25 per cent. of all the crime

committed in Yorkshire, and tried at the last assize, was committed by Irishmen.

"Of these crimes, 29 were crimes of violence,—murders, manslaughters, robberies, and assaults; and of these crimes, 19 were committed by Irishmen; or about 66 per cent. of the crimes of violence in Yorkshire.

"Of these crimes of violence eight resulted in death—in murder or manslaughter; and of these eight crimes, six were committed by Irishmen; or 75 per cent. of the murders and manslaughters in Yorkshire."

If we turn our eyes to those parts of the coast where the debarkation of the Irish chiefly takes place, we shall find the above view strongly corroborated. Mr. Clay gives the following account of the matter:—

"It is worth while to note the increase of the committal of natives of Ireland within the last three years:—

	1846.	1847.	1848.
Sessions Cases . . .	30	40	41
Summary Convictions .	62	98	196

"The Irish committed to the sessions, it will be observed, have not augmented in the same proportion as those committed summarily. The latter class chiefly consists of persons who have recently come over to this country; and who, whether from previous habits, or, as it rather appears to me, from newly and easily acquired practice, are plausible and incorrigible mendicants. When these wretched people, however, settle in a town, their children contribute largely to the hopeless class of young offenders. Had they (the children) remained in Ireland, probably in a rural district, and forming part of a population more or less scattered, ignorance, indolence, and begging, might have constituted the worst features of their character. But in a town such habits soon grow into more deplorable vices. In the most wretched and filthy localities, parents and children herd together

until an Irish colony is established. The boys and girls are sent out systematically to *beg!* but the temptations of a town,—the thronged streets, the places of low amusement, the open doors of yards and dwellings—soon convert the little beggar into an adroit and bold thief. One instance out of many which have come under my observation during the past year, will serve to illustrate this state of things. Six girls, whose ages varied from eleven to sixteen years, were committed *together* as 'rogues and vagabonds.' Their offence consisted in entering an unoccupied house, and pilfering whatever was capable of removal. Most of them had been driven out by their parents to beg; and, according to their own statement, were beaten or otherwise ill-used, unless they carried home a certain sum in the evening. They had been in the dangerous habit of lighting fires in the unoccupied house. They had formed an acquaintance with a boy employed in a dram-shop, who supplied them occasionally with stolen spirits, and with which some of these *little girls* got drunk. 'Worse remains behind.' The younger ones had been trained by the oldest to a kind of profligacy for which, at their early age, natural propensity could scarcely be alleged in excuse. All these girls were the children of Irish parents; the latter settled in Preston, or tramping through the neighbouring district, and living by imposture and vagrancy. I may add here, that of nineteen juvenile offenders committed from the borough of Wigan, eleven were the children of Irish parents."

"The proportion of Irish prisoners has been rapidly increasing for the last three years, and particularly for the year now closing. Out of a total increase, in three years, of 1837 prisoners, 1241 were Irish. . . . The number of felonies committed last year in Liverpool by persons born in Ireland was 222; while the whole number committed by persons born in Lancashire was only 269." To this statement by the Governor of the Liverpool Prison, Mr. Hill, the Government Inspector, adds: "If to the prisoners who are strictly Irish, those who, though born in England, are of Irish parentage, were added, the proportion of Irish prisoners would be yet greater. A return was made of these two classes of prisoners on one day of my inspection, and I found that they formed more than one-half of the whole number of prisoners."

If England has thus suffered from the influx of a disorderly, vagrant, and dishonest population from Ireland, let it be borne in mind, that she has had the occasion (followed more generally than is imagined, by the result,) of removing prejudices from a mistaught people; of imparting instruction in the arts of industry; and of exhibiting to them the blessings of liberty, and order, and peace. The residence in England, even for a season, of the poor Irish, is an education and training in habits, by which many profit and return to their own country, to propagate them amongst their countrymen.

But this country is not open only to such influx from Ireland, to jostle out her own poor from the market of labour, and to press them into dwelling-places and localities which have become the seed-plots of crime,—England is the gold diggings of Europe, where needy adventurers of all nations look for a rich harvest:—

> Exilis domus est ubi non multa supersunt,
> Et dominum fallunt et prosunt furibus.———

We have, therefore, the vices of the continent largely incorporated with our own.

4. I will now direct the reader's attention to another class of prisoners; viz. persons convicted of dishonesty of the ordinary kind. These are either professed thieves, or unhappy persons guilty of an isolated act of dishonesty. I will confine my obser-

vations to the latter class, both because from this, the former receives its recruits, and because it will serve my purpose the better, of warning young people who are yet respectable, but in the midst of temptation, against those things which lead in general to the first criminal acts.

At the head of the multitudinous causes of punishable crime in the land, must be placed in my judgment that wickedness which itself escapes the arm of the law, but which necessarily tends to demoralize those classes in society from which criminals chiefly come. Two species of this may be particularized; seduction, and the fraudulent practices of employers. Take, for instance, the case of a libertine in the higher ranks, or in any class, who has brought one woman to ruin. That ruined individual descends into a lower deep, becomes in turn the seducer of virtue, not in one, but hundreds of young men; robs them of their strength, their money, their character; and then confederates them in those bands of midnight robbers, and those hordes of swindlers and gamblers, which make necessary an army of police for the protection of property and life; and innumerable prisons to punish, correct, and lead them, if it be possible, back to virtue. The deliberate seducer of female innocence, whatever his position in life, should be cast out of society as a liar, a robber of the vilest description, and a murderer. It is not so, however. Yet, thank God, there is an increasing feeling of detestation of this crime in the better ranks of

society. With God, such a man will have an awful reckoning, when the broken heart of the parent, the sin of the seduced, and the loss of an undying soul, are brought home to him as *the chief cause*. "If we pursue the effects of seduction," says Paley, "through the complicated misery which it occasions, and if it be right to estimate crimes by the mischief they knowingly produce, it will appear something more than mere invective to assert, that one-half of the crimes for which men suffer death by the laws of England, are not so flagitious as this." "Yet the law has provided no punishment for this offence beyond a pecuniary satisfaction to the injured family; and this can only be come at by one of the quaintest fictions in the world—by the father's bringing his action against the seducer, for the loss of his daughter's service, during her pregnancy and nurturing."

There are many shades, it must be confessed, in this crime. The sin which leads so generally to such devastation of character—such a blight upon the happiness of home—such an obliteration of all religion and hope, is often mutual; yea, not unfrequently the greatest sufferer is *first* in the transgression.

Few women, strictly and uniformly modest in dress and manner, have to complain of the approaches of badly-intentioned men. *There is a dignity in female modesty and virtue, powerful enough to repel, in general, the first assaults of*

the base seducer, whilst nothing so much excites the admiration and affection of honourable men.

I have referred to monsters in human form who live by trafficking in seduction, and pandering to the lusts of the rich libertine and debauchee. These are generally pretended masters and mistresses of households, and their victims are simple girls from the country, looking for place, or young women thrown out of service by some haste of temper, or liking for fine dress, or love of amusement and change, who unhappily possess an attractive appearance; *or children of tender years.* The victims of this abominable traffic are by no means exclusively from the lower classes. Not long since, I heard a nobleman mention the following heart-rending tale:—

A gentleman of rank in Ireland had two daughters receiving education in Paris. They were to return home during vacation. A friend was to see them on board at Boulogne, and another had undertaken to receive them in London. They arrived in town, but have never been since seen nor heard of by their family. The friend in London was not at his post: a woman fashionably attired had ingratiated herself into their favour, as was noticed on board the packet, and on arrival took them to her *home*,— no doubt one of those elegantly furnished houses in the West End (described by prisoners within these walls), where *gentlemen*, whose fortunes are equal to their atrocious villany, and who can satisfy the cupidity of those traders in seduction, systematically

seek, by false introductions, visits to the opera, wine (if needful, drugged), and other means, even to violence, to destroy a woman's innocence, happiness, and soul, for ever.

The following is told by a trustworthy witness :—

"Not long since, the *only* child of a respectable tradesman in London, quite a young girl, was decoyed from her peaceful home and loving father by a procuress. It was not done at *night*, but during school hours, or when the girl was returning from school. Vigilant search was made by the distressed father, ("who, for a whole fortnight, never took off his clothes,") accompanied by the officers of justice. But it was not before the lapse of several weeks that the girl was traced, and then not in time to save her from ruin. When restored, her wonted innocence and simplicity had departed, and such a marked alteration was visible in her features that her friends, at first, could scarcely recognize her, and worse still, she had become so degraded as to be careless whether she returned home or not. The writer can testify to the truth of this statement,—the unfortunate father being intimate with his family."

Rarely can the law reach a case of this monstrous kind; still more rarely could it do so, were it not for the exertions of a noble, but too little known Society,—*The London Society for the Protection of Young Females;* and when the law does lay hold on the guilty party, it cannot inflict so heavy a punishment as is every day awarded to the

stealer of a few shillings or pence-worth of paltry property!

In like manner, the master who teaches his shopmen to defraud the public, and make a spoil of the simple,—or who employs the agency of his servants in vitiating the food of the people; at once corrupts their integrity, makes them deceitful and dishonest, and creates, as far as his miserable cupidity can accomplish it, another tributary source towards that *congeries* of vice and crime in the country, which becomes so difficult, if not impracticable to remove. The lying and frauds practised in business are numberless, and their effect upon the morals of the young people employed, male and female, is disastrous and shocking in the extreme.

Nor is this all, for, as it is easy to conceive, where moral principle is set at nought in the matter of truth and honesty by the employer, other vices must luxuriate and thrive; and they do so to the most fearful extent.

The most successful swindlers in such shops are the favourites of the employers, and these are indulged in every vice. The scrupulous, and those who are not willing to part with their virtue, are dismissed.

Looking at the less noticed causes of crime, we are not to pass over the luxurious habits of the wealthy, who multiply attendants beyond all possibility of moral control; and who expose them by their own habits, in the pursuit of pleasure, to so manifold temptations beyond what is unavoidable

in the condition of a servant. The corruption of morals which goes on in a great man's house where the fear of the Lord is not the governing principle, exceeds all ordinary belief. Nor is it confined there. The contagion spreads to the families next in station, and so downwards to the lowest. In the transactions between servants, tradesmen, and shopkeepers, fraud, in a variety of ways, is perpetrated and in fact systematised, to such a degree, that it has almost ceased to be thought culpable.

Of the 1000 convicts, let it be remembered, 71 were domestic servants; of 1000 abandoned women in the streets, even a larger proportion would be found. Yet these are only some of the fruits of the dissipated habits acquired by inexperienced persons of the humbler classes, in the houses of luxury and fashion.

> "Increase of power begets increase of wealth,
> Wealth—luxury, and luxury—excess;
> Excess—the scrofulous and itchy plague
> That seizes first the opulent, descends
> To the next rank contagious, and in time
> Taints downwards all the graduated scale."—COWPER.

Thus far with respect to the less noticed sources of crime. Let us now view, for a little, a few more obvious. Amongst these, special prominence is to be given to the drinking habits of the lower classes of the people.

Of the 28,752 prisoners tried at the assizes and sessions in England, in the year referred to, 10,000 may be put down, without fear of exaggeration, as having been brought to their deplorable condition,

directly or indirectly, by the public-house; whilst of the 90,963 summary convictions, 50,000, I fear not to state, were the result of the drinking habits of the individuals themselves or their parents. Yet, as I am led to think, the evil results of drunkenness are to be looked for elsewhere, *even more abundantly* than in prison, especially among women. Drunkenness is in truth a monster evil in the land—a drain upon the national resources—a stain upon the character of England—a plague in the midst of us, more fatal than any malady which ever visited our shores. Not one single vice contributes more towards filling with wretched inhabitants the poor-house, the hospital, the asylum, and the gaol. In the year 1836, being a parish clergyman (in the Staffordshire Potteries), I was led to make the following remark in an address to my parishioners:—"The people of this place take an awful part in this pernicious expenditure. In our population of 12,000 people, there are 158 public-houses or beer-shops; that is, one for every 76 persons! All these houses are filled on Saturday night, and the early part of the week; that is, while the working classes have any money to spend; but on Thursday, Friday, and *Saturday morning*, riot and drunkenness have ceased, and all is quietness and peace." It is too true, I fear, yet of the same place, and of thousands of others in this country. When I entered on that parish, in the spring of 1833, the evil of the Beer Bill was beginning to be felt. That measure had for one of its objects, the drawing people off from

public-houses, by affording them a wholesome beverage to be consumed at home at their meals; but the effect was, that a lower style of drinking-place was opened in every quarter, and by a trifle more tax and house-rent, the beer might be "drunk on the premises;" and thus the temptation of an inferior public-house was brought to every poor man's door. Frightful immoralities became common in the place, and the vice of gambling was rapidly generated. A bookseller in the town stated that the demand for playing-cards was quite surprising, consequent upon the opening of these houses. A similar testimony I am sure would be borne by every clergyman who witnessed the opening of beer-houses in his parish, under that calamitous Act of the Legislature.

The Opinions of Forty-seven Chaplains on the "Beer Bill," extracted from the Evidence before Lord Harrowby's late Committee:—

1. "Is convinced by experience of the evil effects of beer-houses in the production of crime, the majority of cases of theft and poaching being traceable thereto."

2. "Has ascertained by investigation that about four fifths of the offences committed by the agricultural population are traceable to beer-houses."

3. "Attributes most injurious effects to beer-houses; several prisoners under twenty years of age being now in custody, who acknowledge that 'the beer-shop has done it all.'"

4. "Beer-houses are the sources of a very large proportion of crime, the prisoners almost universally admitting that they trace their disgraceful position to them."

5. "Believes the several Acts relating to the sale of beer to have been productive of the most demoralizing effects."

6. "Suggests that the Legislature should repeal the whole of the Acts relating to beer-houses."

7. "Gaols must continue to be filled with prisoners, unless something be done to put down Jerry-shops."

8. "Judging from information obtained from prisoners, considers beer-houses one of the most fruitful sources of crime."

9. "Considers beer-houses a curse in any parish, and productive of great domestic misery."

10. "Has no hesitation in stating that the number of beer-houses, and their vicinity to the dwellings of the poor, has a very pernicious effect."

11 "They (beer-houses) cannot be regarded otherwise than as positive nurseries of vice and crime."

12. "Is convinced, from the additional experience of every year, that beer-houses are one of the most fruitful sources of vice and immorality in every form."

13. "Finds that nearly all houses of ill-fame are beer-houses, and that spirits are sold in them, though the proprietor has no license for so doing."

14. "Is inclined to consider beer-houses as dangerous to public morals."

15. "Has been informed by prisoners and others, that much of the seduction and corruption in early life among females is to be traced to their being entrapped into these houses."

16. "For fostering vice, and for consummating reckless and self-incurred pauperism, the beer-shop appears to furnish the most fatal channel."

17. "However lucrative they may be to the revenue in the way of excise duties, it is at the expense of the best interests of the labouring poor, and entails an enormous expense in the punishment of crimes concocted in the beer-shop."

18. "The effect of beer-houses is, and hitherto has been, to let loose a flood of vice and immorality."

19. "Has no doubt as to the demoralizing effects of beer-houses."

20. "Beer-houses the chief cause of crime."

21. "Is of opinion, formed deliberately and from long experience, that beer-houses are the promoters of crime."

22. "Is enabled to say, from seven years' experience, that the operation of public-houses and beer-houses, in the production of crime, is beyond any other instrumentality."

23. "From the facilities afforded by beer-houses to drinking,

many offences and crimes are therein committed, or committed after leaving them."

24. "Certain beer-shops and public-houses are the constant resort of youths who subsist upon whatever articles they can steal and convert into money."

25. "From conversations with prisoners, concludes that the tendency of beer-houses, in a moral point of view, is exceedingly bad."

26. "It is a matter of frequent occurrence that young men, in writing home, speak of the beer-shop having proved their ruin."

27. "From experience can express a very confident opinion, that beer-houses must be looked upon generally as so many nurseries of crime in the land."

28. "Has no hesitation in saying, that the beer-house has been the source of ruin to most of the inmates of this gaol."

29. "Has no hesitation in declaring, from long experience, that beer-houses are greatly and constantly productive of crime."

30. "Is led to conclude, from experience, that beer-houses, by increasing the temptation to drunkenness, have greatly contributed to the increase of crime."

31. "Having closely interrogated each prisoner as to the cause of their incarceration, has received answer from every one (with one single exception), that it was the facility afforded in beer-shops for the indulgence of their drinking propensities."

32. "Beer-houses operate in producing crime, by providing occasions, more numerous and cheaper than otherwise would exist, for contracting drinking habits, bad companionships, and directly criminal engagements."

33. "Cases of poaching, sheep-stealing, and labourers forsaking their families, have originated in the facility with which they (the labourers) could frequent beer-shops."

34. "Is of decided opinion that beer-houses in general operate in the production of crime."

35. "A very considerable proportion of the crime for which men are committed arises from their frequenting beer-houses. Such houses are a crying evil to the country at large."

36. "The situation of many of these houses in by-places just suits the views of poachers, thieves, and midnight assassins."

37. "Crimes generally, if not invariably, originate in the

frequenting of beer-houses; and as corroborative of this, 15 out of 20 men have so confessed during their imprisonment."

38. "Considers beer-houses exceedingly injurious to the lower orders."

39. "The present law is decidedly pernicious in its consequences, beer-houses being frequently resorted to by persons bent on the commission of crime."

40. "Beer-houses are at least the means of *spreading* crime, from the effects of bad company."

41. "It would be hard to overstate the extent to which the beer-shop is connected and mixed up with the crime of the country. Is at a loss for words to express the amount of evil every day produced by the multiplication of these dens of iniquity and curses of the poor."

42. "By far the great proportion of prisoners committed have been in the habit of frequenting beer-shops."

43. "Drunkenness has increased in proportion to the facilities given by the licensing of beer-houses."

44. "I have found them the resort of all sorts of thieves, young and old, and places where the young find a ready instruction in crime."

45. "A very considerable portion of crimes may be traced to the habits of idleness, intemperance, and profligacy engendered in beer-houses."

46. "Beer-houses one among many causes which tend greatly to the production of crime."

47. "I believe it is impossible for human language to describe the misery and wickedness added to the previous sum of our moral and social ill by beer-houses."—*Rev. J. Clay, Chaplain of the Preston House of Correction.*

Of the dram-shop worse must be told even than of the beer-house, and it is important to note, that just in proportion as you increase the facilities for the sale of spirituous liquors, so do you increase crime and the necessity for more police to repress it. This is borne out by the following testimony. It is part of the evidence given before the Parliamentary

Committee on Public Houses and other places of public entertainment and amusement, by Mr. Danson, who appeared on behalf of the licensed victuallers:—

Mr. Barrow: Are you aware at all, of the comparative amount of drunkenness between Liverpool and Manchester?—We have got the number of population where cases of drunkenness are reported for Dublin, Glasgow, Liverpool, London, Birmingham, and Manchester, and in those cases we find that in Dublin there is 1 out of 21 of the population.

Chairman: Convicted of drunkenness? Yes; in Glasgow, 1 in 22; in Edinburgh, 1 in 59; in Liverpool, 1 in 91; in London, 1 in 106; in Birmingham, 1 in 113; and in Manchester, 1 in 600. In the three first places, Dublin, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, there is the largest amount of drunkenness, and in those places there is the free licensing system, where it is sold from grocers' shops or any other place. Manchester is the largest population of the kingdom, with the smallest number of licenses, and consequently the smallest number of drunken persons; and I believe, for the amount of population, the smallest amount of police are employed. In Liverpool there are 1470 public-houses, as you will see by this return, and in Manchester there are 578. In Liverpool, with a population of 25,000 less than Manchester, we have 900 police. In Manchester there are only 443 police.

Chairman: Is the return which you have made of the proportion of convictions for drunkenness in different towns for the purpose of showing that the greater the facility afforded for selling spirits the more is the drunkenness?—Yes.

"Scotland affords a melancholy proof of the effect of cheapening spirits to a people, writes Mr. Thompson, of Banchory, in his lately published work, (Nisbet), entitled *Social Evils, their Causes and Cure*:—

"In former years Scotland probably was, and certainly did boast, ay, and still boasts, of being the most religious portion of the empire. It was formerly, at least in the lower classes, the most sober and temperate of the three kingdoms; but one single financial measure changed the whole aspect of the land. In 1825 the duty on whiskey was greatly reduced; intemperance began to increase, and, in the 27 years which have since elapsed,

the consumption has become nearly *fivefold* greater; crime, disease, and death have increased in similar proportion; and the sober, religious Scotland of other days is now *proved*, by its consumption of spirits, to be, without exception, the most drunken nation in Europe."

Referring to this testimony of Mr. Thompson, Colonel Jebb, in his report for 1852, as Surveyor-general of Prisons, remarks:—

It is a striking fact, in confirmation of the above view, that no sooner does a regiment go to Scotland or Ireland, than the same causes which operate in demoralizing the people there are immediately perceptible in the increase of crime amongst the soldiers.

In the statistics of the military prisons, which appear in my Report for the year 1852, it will be found that whilst *the committals for drunkenness among the troops quartered in England amounted to about* 7 *in* 1000 *men, in Scotland and Ireland they have amounted to about* 20 *in* 1000.

Next to the drinking habits of the people, as an obvious source of crime, may be reckoned the different licensed places of amusement,—pleasure gardens, dancing and concert rooms, night saloons. &c. Many who drank deeply of the pleasures of sin in the metropolis, and ended their miserable career in this prison, have given me full descriptions of these places and their consequences. *They will not bear recital in pages intended for general perusal.* These night rooms, allowed to be open under the plea of providing places of refreshment for night cabmen and persons coming to the early markets, have naturally been converted into places of rendezvous for the abandoned of both sexes, to prey upon the persons and property of young men who

are enticed thither, when, heated with wine and excitement, they are returning from the theatre, by companions farther gone in sin, or acquaintances formed at the play-house. In those infamous houses everything calculated to steal away the heart is provided,—music, wine, women, dancing, cards, &c. Here may be seen the vilest and most depraved of the human kind, mixed with young men of all ranks and classes who have a genteel appearance. None but well-dressed persons are admitted. Clerks, warehousemen, *gentlemen*, country tradesmen, and persons of such years and position as should guarantee better things; shopmen, lads scarcely out of their boyhood, thieves of the first class, and the most attractive female deceivers.

Some visit these places "to see life," and in general they pay dearly for their folly. "There's no fear," they would say, if remonstrated with by a a friend. They buy repentance at a dear rate. The excitement, the drink, the allurements of "the stranger that flattereth with her tongue," overpower reason; and the victim of presumption and folly "goeth after her straightway, as an ox goeth to the slaughter, or as a fool to the correction of the stocks; till a dart strike through his liver; as a bird hasteth to the snare, and knoweth not that it is for his life." A very few visits to such places will serve to turn a virtuous youth with the best prospects into an unamiable and ill-tempered brother, a corrupter of his shopmates, a grief to his mother, and a shame to his father,—a shoplifter, or one of

the confederates of the swell-mob, haunting the very place for prey where he himself was entrapped. Nightly balls, masquerades, &c., in pleasure gardens, of course are precisely of the same character. Booths and sleeping-places are provided in those places, under the pretext of accommodation to parties coming from a distance. Dancing and music-rooms, licensed under Act of Parliament passed in George the Second's reign, better in some particulars, are in this respect, perhaps, worse,—that virtuous young women, servants, milliners, &c., frequent them in greater number, in common with abandoned persons, and with the like disastrous consequences.

It is a very small matter, when one is considering the magnitude of the direct evils of such places, to mention that everything which chemical knowledge can suggest, and the most practised ingenuity of the dealer in wines, spirituous liquors, &c., can devise, is done to impose upon the consumer, instead of the genuine article, some factitious compound, adulterated, and often medicated with poisonous ingredients. However, adulteration of these things is not confined to such places.

It would be endless to describe the different places of nightly excitement in the metropolis, thrown open to our young men after the day's business is over. They are arranged so as to meet every taste. They all agree in an unprincipled thirst for gain, and utter disregard to the ruin of the character of individuals and the peace of families; and,

without exception, generate in a frightful degree drunken habits and profligacy.

Let theatrical amusements be considered:—Theatres vary very much in the character of their pieces, their actors, and their company. I suppose, however, no night's whole performance was ever witnessed, in the best, not chargeable with the guilt of downright *profanity* in tragedy, of *immodest allusions* in comedy, and *lascivious acting* in the opera and ballet. The greater number *directly* propagate vice, immorality, and crime. Those for the lower order seem as if this were their only business. On the stage of the minor theatres may be witnessed scenes of murder, housebreaking, highway robbery, gambling, and thefts of all descriptions, drunkenness in high and low life, &c., without the pretext of a moral; and through them all runs a vein of wit or humour, intended to tell upon the corrupt affections of the heart and inflame the passions. In the house itself, drinking is carried on among the men and women, spirits being carried in for the purpose, and scenes of vice, theft, and angry contention are enacted by the rabble spectators, which baffle all description. "In the boxes and dress circles," says one of my informants, himself once an actor, "may be seen a great number of respectable people. What can possess them to come to such houses," he adds, "I cannot conceive." Many will freely denounce places like these as the sources of crime, who can see no evil in those which they themselves frequent. I believe the difference to be simply this:—The

minor theatre *directly* teaches crime and immorality; the superior sort, more speciously, *immodesty and vice, which tend to crime.* The former effects its mischief on the lowest class of society; the latter, amongst the middle and higher classes. The question of the performance itself is a small part of the matter. The necessary and uniformly accompanying attendants upon the play-house are to be weighed; and these are worse than can be described, and numberless. What respectable neighbourhood or proprietary, it may be asked, would not rise up in arms against the location of a nightly place of amusement, theatre, or opera-house amongst them? Why? Because it is notorious, that the erection of such an edifice would be an intolerable public nuisance! Under its shelter immediately would spring up, as in a kindred soil and congenial atmosphere, infamous houses of every description, like so many upas-trees; and all persons who had respect to the character of their daughters, or the morals of their sons, would be compelled to flee. There are those who see clearly enough the evils of drunkenness, and yet patronize the stage. I would have such, then, to consider whether drunkenness, so horribly hideous, and the parent of such multiform wickedness and misery, is not the natural result, as well as the invariable accompaniment, of popular amusements. This I believe to be the fact; and, therefore, that the theatre is to be considered, not merely *per se*, with its own peculiar train of evils, but as contributing largely to the vice of drunkenness.

The retailers of strong drink should be good witnesses in this question; but these persons—as may be already gathered from what has been said—are constantly offering their schemes of pleasure at a mere nominal price, or even loss, as baits to catch the simple in their nets—their drinking and smoking rooms. The temptation to take strong drink, be it remembered, is neither the earliest nor the most potent in our nature. No man is born a drunkard. The love of pleasure, company, and lascivious associations of thought, is innate in fallen nature. The records of the prison-house, if fully analysed, would show, that the *first penny, or the first pound*, taken by a son from his parent, or abstracted by the young man from his master's desk, is for the theatre, not for the public-house. But youth, being corrupted by the pleasures of sin, drunkenness follows, and becomes the associate, or the substitute of licentiousness, and completes the ruin. Money becomes indispensable, and it is gotten by some desperate and wicked means, at the possibility of which, a few months before, the mind would have recoiled with indignation, like that of Hazael, when reproved by the prophet: "Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?"

The theatre produces habits inimical to frugality, chastity, and uprightness. Time is wasted; money lavished away; the love of excitement generated; the passions inflamed; home made distasteful, with its sober realities, and business odious; associations

with the fallen and profligate formed; till at last, poverty comes, like an armed man, upon the child of idleness and folly, and then crime, to be punished by the law. It is well if poverty alone comes, and that early; by this means, a good Providence interferes, sometimes, to rouse the votary of pleasure from what else must be the sleep of death. When all is spent, the wise counsel of a friend may be heeded; some kindly influence may attract the wanderer, and the virtuous attachment of home return. The grace of God may find the sinner, and lead him to salvation and true happiness.

Reformers of the stage have appeared, from time to time—persons of chaste lives and unblemished character, who blushed for the immoralities and vice of their unhappy profession. *All their attempts at reformation signally failed.* Referring to this, not long ago, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton—himself a writer for the stage—in introducing the health of Mr. Macready, at a public dinner given to that eminent actor at the close of his theatrical career, makes this remark: "That was only half the merit of his management. He purified the audience; so that, *for the first time since the reign of Charles II., a father might take his daughter to the public theatre, with as much safety, and as little fear of any shock to decorum, as if he had taken her to the house of a friend.*" Mr. Macready, in his acknowledgment of this compliment, refers to his conduct as follows:—"To my direction of the

two patent theatres, on which my friend has so kindly dilated, I wish to say but little. The preamble of their patent recites, as a condition of their grants, *that the theatre should be for the promotion of virtue* and instruction to the human race—I think these are the words. I can only say, it was my determination, to the best of my ability, to obey that injunction; and, believing in the principle that property has its duties, as well as its rights, I conceived that the proprietary should have co-operated with me. *They thought otherwise, and I was reluctantly compelled to relinquish, on disadvantageous terms, my half-achieved enterprise.* Others will take up the unaccomplished work." No! never, Mr. Macready, with such an example of failure before them; if any do, it will only be to subject them also to chagrin and loss.

The following is an illustration of the same thing in America. The account is from a Boston correspondent, to the Editor of the "New York Observer:"—"The Tremont theatre is in trouble. It proves to be a losing concern; and there appears to be no way to make it profitable. It was built with the avowed intention of raising the respectability of the drama; and I believe the manager has honestly done his best to meet at once the demands of those who love theatres, and those who love good morals. Several years since, he abolished his bar for the sale of intoxicating liquors; in consideration of which, he solicited, and obtained, a license for his theatre, without paying the usual tax. He after-

wards attempted another reform, which he delicately announced by a notice, that no lady would be admitted to any part of the theatre unless accompanied by a gentleman; thus excluding all ladies in whose company no gentleman would be willing to be seen. This was necessary, because *so many of both sexes* utterly refused a place of amusement where it was known such ladies would form a part of the company. But the loss of the patronage of such 'ladies,' and of those who stayed away when those were excluded, was more than the manager's purse could bear; and, *in a few weeks, the rule was suffered to fall into disuse.* Of late there has been an investigation of the affairs of the company, and a report has been published, from which it appears, that even *if the manager had the building rent free, the receipts would fall considerably short of meeting the other expenses.*"

Thus, the taste of the immoral, pleasure-loving mass must be gratified, and the presence of abandoned characters allowed, or no theatre will pay the proprietor. The more virtuous, the greater the loss. The great by their wealth, or the virtuous in middle life by associating together, may purchase for themselves immunity from some of the most offensive evils of the place; but ordinarily, persons must be content to let their wives, their daughters, and their sons, sit side by side with the well-dressed and attractive courtesans and their shameless paramours. I have spoken the more largely upon this point because, from the extreme popularity of the theatre, with all

classes, and the difficulty of fully exposing the corrupting nature of its associations, I suppose, moralists and divines have too much kept it out of view. But the faithful minister of Christ, into whose hands these pages fall, who would give to all their portion in due season, will not fail, it is hoped, when he looks into the matter thus brought before him, to denounce the stage, with the Augustines and Chrysostoms of old, as "the pest of souls, the ruin of virtue and modesty, the fuel of the passions, and as the pomps of this world, which Christians solemnly denounce."

Another popular amusement, the abundant source of crime, is the Race Course, the effects of which are thus portrayed by the Rev. C. B. Tayler, from personal observations:—

"I could cite the testimonies of others to prove the evil of races. I could refer to brother clergymen at Epsom and Doncaster, who have spoken to me in decided terms of the effects produced by them in both those well-known places; but I confine myself to the city of Chester, because I can speak from my own experience, and record facts for the truth of which I can myself vouch. The crime, the sorrow, the ruin, the deaths, which I have witnessed, the lamentations which I have heard, are not to be forgotten; and I would add, with all Christian gentleness, but with all Christian faithfulness, they must not be kept back. I can well conceive that many who defend and promote the evils of which I speak have been ignorant of these things: but I have not been ignorant; and at the risk of displeasing some kind and friendly persons, who, I fear, do not desire to have their eyes opened, I must record my faithful testimony. Perhaps there is no place in England in which the evils of the race-course are so mixed up with the population of the place as the city of Chester: the race-course may be said to form part of the place. There is no need, as in other towns, to go even a short distance to be a spectator

of the proceedings: a person standing on the western walls of the town, has the whole race-course spread out at his very feet.

"During the last few years, owing to the exertions of a worthy magistrate of the place, at the time he was a mayor, the first day of the race was altered from the Monday to the Tuesday, to avoid the awful profanation of the Lord's-day with which that day commenced.

"Before that change took place, the tumult of the streets, even during divine service, was so great, that it was a continual interruption to the congregations assembled in the churches. I have been jostled almost off the steps which led from my own church door, as I descended them, by a crowd of ill-mannered fellows who came up arm in arm, one of the party puffing the smoke of his cigar in my face: and the Sabbath evening in that ancient Christian city presented on every side scenes that would have been disgraceful even to a heathen land. Carriages of all sorts came rolling into the town during the whole of the day; and there were sights and sounds on every side, as the night drew in, ill-suited to the Christian Sabbath,—drunkards reeling and shouting about the streets, and the inns and public-houses of all sorts filled to overflowing with noisy revellers.

"There was, a few years ago, one room in my own parish which has been so crowded by the mixed multitude of gamblers assembled there, that the men sat upon one another's knees, and there hundreds and thousands of pounds were betted and taken; and not only there, but in every quarter of the old city, the gambler and the blackleg of high and low life might be seen, with care-worn brow and eager look, intent upon their close calculations—the bold and reckless gambler ready to stake his all upon his favourite horse—the selfish and the cautious exercising all his skill in 'hedging' to secure and enrich himself.

"Year after year it seemed as if some advancement was made in winning souls to God, and humanly speaking this was the case: many an individual began to manifest a desire to walk in the ways of godliness, and to take delight in the things of God; but perhaps at the very time that the snare of the fowler seemed broken, and the soul about to escape, the snare was again set, the temptation again presented, and the captive again secured. I believe that this is not only my testimony, but that of several other earnest and anxious ministers of Christ in Chester.

"How often have I seen some individual in whom I had begun to take a deep interest, and by whose apparent consistency in attending the means of grace I had been led to hope that he was indeed strengthened, stablished, and settled, fall away, and prove that he was utterly unable to resist the influence of the periodical mania of the Chester race week! With his eyes fully opened to the folly and the sin of the way which he was about to take, he had started aside from his new profession like a broken bow, and realized the strong expression of the Apostle Peter: "Like the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire." Many an ingenuous youth well known to me has deplored, with shame-stricken countenance and fast-falling tears, the gross immoralities of that season. I have before me the instance of two young men especially, in whom the consistent godliness of several years was totally overthrown. I rejoice to think that they have been both, by the grace of God, brought back to the paths which they had forsaken, wiser and humbler from their fall, and have since been enabled to stand in a strength which they had not earnestly sought before. But alas! how many there are who have not returned, and who have ended by hardening their own conscience, after having begun by resisting its checks.

"There was a fine manly fellow of eight-and-twenty, apparently a steady, sober-minded man, a constant attendant for some time with his godly sister at my church. He was a kind son, an affectionate brother, a good workman, and high in the confidence of his employers. He had joined my Bible class of young men, and had won my esteem by the simple frankness of his disposition, and the plain manliness of his whole bearing. But gradually he withdrew himself from the church, and from the Bible class, and all my remonstrances, seconded by those of his widowed mother and sister, were civilly and quietly received, but steadily and inflexibly resisted. And yet there was no apparent immorality to be discovered. Nothing in his life or conduct which either I or his relations could censure, except his utter disregard of the Lord's-day, and of all other means of grace. He was still the same affectionate son and brother, he brought faithfully to his mother, at the end of the week, the sum of money—not a small one—which he had agreed to give her for his board and lodging. But his anxious mother sighed in secret,

and felt that there was something wrong, though she hardly liked to own it to herself, while his pious and exemplary sister openly deplored to me the sad change in her beloved Charley.

"He was seized with an illness which filled them with alarm. He had worked to the last moment; and one morning about eleven o'clock, he came in from his work quite exhausted, and throwing himself on a chair, said, with a countenance of deep sadness, 'I must give it up; I can work no more.' He took to his bed. His illness was of a lingering character, and at times he seemed to rally; but, although his apparent recovery filled their hearts with more hope, still he was but the shadow of his former self; and at last he returned to his bed, never to leave it again. They wished him to see me, and I went to him immediately. The poor fellow was pleased to see me, and many an hour did I spend at his bedside. It was impossible not to be pleased with him; but though as his friend I loved him, as the minister of Christ I could never feel satisfied with his state.

"He owned to me that he had given up every hope of recovering his health. He said that he knew he should die; but there was something—I could not discover it—which made me feel that there was no reality about his repentance, nothing genuine in his faith. It was no immorality in the common sense of the word to which he had yielded; I questioned him plainly but delicately on all such points. There was, however, a holding back of something, a coldness, a want of heart in all that he said, when replying to my earnest appeals on the one point of vital importance.

"One evening on entering his chamber I found him in close and earnest conversation with another man, a grave, middle-aged man, who seemed to be as steady and respectable as himself. His dress showed that he was well to do in the world, and his manner was more than commonly civil and respectful. He continued to converse with the sick man for a few minutes in a calm, quiet voice; but I saw a look exchanged between them, and he rose up and took his leave. I remained with my poor friend about my usual time, but the visit was, as before, unsatisfactory, and yet I could hardly tell why. After I had left him, I was again suddenly summoned to the house. The mother met me with looks of alarm: poor Charley, she said, had been suddenly taken much worse; she feared he was actually

dying at that very time. I hastened up to the chamber, and his sister quitted it as I entered. I think her brother had requested to be left alone with me. He was, indeed, to all appearance a dying man. Never have I witnessed so profuse a death sweat in any dying person; his hands, his face, his hair, his own linen, and that of the bed, were reeking with the cold and heavy moisture, its chilliness, when I touched his hand, alarmed me. I placed my finger on his pulse, it was scarcely perceptible. I spoke to him: his manly voice had died almost to a whisper. I said no more. I saw what was needed, and instantly quitted the room. 'I must have some strong hot brandy and water immediately for him,' I said to his mother. 'But he is forbidden,' she replied, 'to take wine or spirits of any kind. The doctor has ordered nothing but gruel.' 'He must have brandy, or he will sink at once,' I answered, 'and I will take the risk upon myself.' The cordial was given, and he gradually revived. I continued sitting by his bedside. I soon felt his pulse returning to its strength, and not long after he was enabled to speak to me. 'I must tell you, Sir,' he said, 'what is the cause of all this. It is not bodily illness, it is not death, it is the state of my mind. I must tell you everything: if I keep my secret any longer it will kill me. I have made up my mind to speak to you in confidence, as my friend. But you will promise me not to tell my mother and sister: it would break their hearts to know what my course has been, and how shamefully I have deceived them.

"'Ah, Sir, those races! they have been my ruin! I had given up for a time, when I came to your church, and to your young men's class, my gambling and my betting; but I did not know my own weakness; and by degrees I fell back again: and the worst of it all is, Sir, the secresy with which I have been going on in my bad ways. I have had my betting books at many of the public-houses, not only at Chester, but in Liverpool. The man you saw in my room to-night is just such another as myself, a respectable, industrious workman, but as entirely given up as I was to that wicked gambling. He came to speak to me on the subject, to-night; but I had told him just before you entered the room, never to come to me again, for that I had done with the thing for ever.

"'And now, Sir, let me tell you what have been the ways of

our set. We were all of us sober men, men of good character, industrious, and well respected, but given up secretly to this betting and gambling. And it was on the Lord's-day that we made our plans and settled our books. We used to go quietly one by one, from our own houses, taking a round by some of the back streets of the town, to our place of meeting at the river side, and there take a boat and go up the Dee for a few miles; and then when we were out of sight and hearing we settled our business. You would scarcely believe, if I were to tell you, the large sums that we have lost and won from our calculations and our bets on the various races throughout the country. We made it a matter of downright business, and carried on the work with the same coolness and steadiness that we gave to our regular calling. Oftentimes I have trembled to think of the risks I have run, and the difficulties in which I have been entangled, and the sums that were at stake, and the ruin that stared me in the face.

"'The wonder has been, how I have been able to bring my mother my weekly pay, and to deceive her and poor Mary as I have all along done; but it is the secret deceit of the whole that has cut me to the heart; and as I lay and thought of it to-night, it took me in such a way, that I think I have gone through all the pains, and all the dreadful weakness and faintness of a dying hour. Ill as I am, Sir, it was not my illness that reduced me to the state you saw: it was this, and only this—the horror that came over me, and the shame, when I thought how I had taken you all in; and, Sir, I have never been in earnest—though I am all but a dying man notwithstanding all the pains you took with me, and all the kindness you showed me—till now. I have never cared, really cared, for my soul, never loved my blessed Saviour. How could I, Sir, keeping back my sin, and hiding my secret in my heart as I have done? But I am glad that I have told you; and that I have been open and plain-spoken at last. Ah! Sir, perhaps you never knew till to-night what a curse these races have been to many a respectable man like myself, in a secret way. Only let me beg that what I have told to you, you will not let my poor mother and sister know; for I cannot bear to think of the grief which they would feel.'

"I said but little to him that night. There was now no cause to impress upon him the greatness of the sin, of which he was

so deeply conscious. But in the little that I did say, I gravely assured him how fully I concurred with the view he took of his sin, how thoroughly I agreed with him in the abhorrence he felt at the course of continued deceit which he had pursued; and kneeling down beside him, we poured forth together our solemn and humble prayer to Him who alone had the power and the will to forgive him, in that prevailing name by which only the guilty sinner can hope to find pardon and acceptance with an offended and heart-searching God.

"When I went to him on the following day, his sister begged to speak to me before I went up to his chamber. Charles had told her and his mother everything. On quietly thinking the matter over, he had judged it right to do so; and though they had not said a word in excuse of his sin, he had met with nothing but tender affection from those two loving hearts. I found him much better—the burden which from the beginning of his illness had oppressed his spirit had been removed, and he had been enabled, not only to confide it to his earthly friends—he had laid the whole weight on that gracious Saviour who has borne our own sins in his own body upon the tree, and who is as willing as he is able to receive the returning and repentant sinner. He was enabled to rejoice in that great assurance, that 'if we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins.' He was strengthened in spirit, for he was now rejoicing in hope; and his bodily health, though he was unable to quit his chamber or his bed, had apparently improved. The short interval thus graciously granted to him, proved a season of great blessedness. There could be no doubt that the Lord had put away his sin, and had accepted him; and when his strength once more failed him, and his redeemed spirit departed, it seemed to all around him as if the Lord had said unto him, 'Go in peace.'

"I am well aware that the worldly reader may say that, after all, his sin was not a flagrant one. But those who have been brought to know, that the dealings of God are with the heart, will take the same view as poor Charles did of the course of conduct which he had pursued, and will see in the peculiar tenderness of his conscience, and the anguish of mind which he suffered, a proof that he had at last entered into a true conception of the character of God and the evil of sin. All however

must see from his case how fatal a snare those races had proved to him."—*Facts in a Clergyman's Life.*

I pass over for the present the subject of gambling in general.

> "Alea, scylla vorax, species certissima furti;
> Non contenta bonis, animum quoque perfida mergit;
> Fœda, furax, infamis, iners, furiosa ruina."

This destructive habit is, I fear, not on the decrease. The higher classes, improved in this respect since the early days of George IV., must go farther if they would suppress crime, and discountenance wholly by their example a vice so ruinous to the morals of a people.

In the foregoing remarks I have referred to what I conceive to be the *chief causes* of crime in this country; others might be mentioned, did space permit, as the infidel and licentious literature of the day, Sabbath desecration by pleasure traffic, &c. In Ireland, where the proportion of serious crime is still frightfully high, there are sufficient additional causes to which to trace that excess. Happily, as we believe, they are in process of removal. Education is making resistless advances on the ignorance and superstition of the people; and above all former years' experience, the Word of God has access to the people to teach them what true religion is, and to dispense the blessings of liberty, order, obedience to the law, and industry around.

The crimes of Ireland indicate a country emerging

from barbarism, or relapsing into that state. Defiance of law—violence and rapine—treachery and assassination, are the main features of the dark picture. As Popery declines in Ireland, so will her crimes. Directly or otherwise, these, for the greater part, are the fruits of a system of religion which, preferring darkness to light, and the abject servitude of its votaries, to their advancement in the scale of civilization, thwarts or opposes the law, maligns the magistracy and government, and endeavours to keep from her shores those who would develop the riches of the country, and employ its people.

CHAPTER III.

THE PUNISHMENT OF CRIME BY IMPRISONMENT.

"The criminal legislation and the penal institutions of a country involve questions of great extent; they enter into the moral life of the state, and form essential conditions for its order and peace. They belong as well to the jurisdiction of religion, as to those of justice and politics."—*Oscar, King of Sweden.*

PUNISHMENT for crime should be exactly what the law imposes, and nothing more. An imprisonment which inflicts upon the condemned bodily, mental, or moral injuries, beyond what is unavoidable, from the nature of all punishment and the lapse of time involved in the sentence, is unjust and cruel.

Let prisons, as they were, be viewed in this light.

The state of the prisons of England, when the illustrious Howard began his work of inspection, was wholly in contravention of this principle, and in the highest degree disgraceful to the nation. Constructed without regard to any of those conditions now deemed so essential, I will not say to the comfort of the unhappy prisoner, but to his very existence, they were farmed out to individuals willing to take charge of the inmates at the allow-

ance of 3*d.* or 4*d.* per day for each; the profit from which, with fees made compulsory on the prisoners when discharged, constituted the keeper's salary. The debtor, the prisoner discharged by the expiring of his term of sentence, by acquittal, or pardon from the crown, had alike to pay those fees, or to languish in confinement.

It requires no reasoning to show the consequence of a system so thoroughly vicious as this, carried out by persons willing to trade in the sufferings of their fellow-men. A committal to prison was in fact equivalent, in many cases, to a sentence of death by some frightful disease; and in all, to suffering by the utmost extremes of hunger and cold. One disease, generated by the want of proper ventilation, warmth, cleanliness, and food, became known as the gaol fever. It swept away hundreds every year, and sent out others on their liberation miserably enfeebled. So rife was this disorder, that prisoners arraigned in the dock brought with them on one occasion such a pestilential halo, as caused many in the court-house to sicken and die.

If such was the care shown for the bodily condition of prisoners, one may conceive how little concern was felt for their souls, or their morals.

In some gaols men and women were together in the day-room; in all, idleness, obscenity, and blasphemy reigned undisturbed. The keeper cared for none of these things. His highest duty was to keep his prisoners safe; and his highest aspiration, the fees squeezed out of their miserable relatives.

The picture as regards debtors, who had of course greater liberty and in general more money, is still more revolting. The following account of the Fleet Prison (now happily razed to the ground) may serve as an instance: "This ill-regulated prison," observes Dr. Aikin, Howard's first biographer, "presented, indeed, every possible temptation to dishonesty, riot, and dissipation. There were the billiard-room, the fives and the tennis court, the skittle-ground for the gambler to continue the baneful practice which had brought him here, and to qualify him for leaving as a finished sharper the place of confinement. Wine clubs and beer clubs, each lasting till one or two o'clock in the morning, contributed, too, their ready and powerful aid to drown every feeling of regret for the past, every purpose of amendment for the future. To crown the scene of iniquity, there had been printed, in the very year in which Howard first visited this prison, a code of laws enacted by the Master's side debtors for the internal economy of its various parts, some of which were immoral on the very face of them; such, for instance, was that which required from every new-comer, upon the first *Sunday* of his matriculation, in addition to two shillings to be spent in wine, one shilling and sixpence to be appropriated to the use of the house."

Things are happily now changed, and almost the worst prison in the country in our day is better than the very best when the philanthropist probed

and laid bare to public observation such flagrant abuses. In many prisons, however, the improvement as yet has been chiefly in the physical treatment of prisoners.

The prisons of England may be classed under three heads: prisons on the old system of association, as Newgate, Horsemonger-lane Gaol, &c.;—prisons on the *silent* associated system, as Coldbath-fields and Westminster Houses of Correction;—and prisons on the *separate* system, as Pentonville and Reading Prisons, the Middlesex House of Detention, &c.

There have been of late years, in the first kind of prisons, attempts made at classification. The misdemeanants and the felons are, as far as can be, kept apart. Such classification is of little value. Legal distinctions of crime form an imperfect criterion of moral character. *Convicted* murderers also, if possible, are kept separate; but the receiving yard takes in all the untried,—the old and the young, the confirmed villain and the novice in crime, the thoughtless youth who has fallen into the guilt or suspicion only of one solitary offence, as well as the most hardened and brutal wretch.

It is not possible to convey to the mind of the reader any adequate idea of the corruption in moral feeling, and the completeness of education in crime, which go on in the common gaols of the country, especially before trial, when the legal presumption of innocence prevents the application of discipline.

A boy commits a trespass—steals some fruit—

runs away from his master, or does some mischief; he is committed to prison—forms acquaintances—learns generally some art in thieving, and gets the impression that the life of a thief is better than that of the honest, hard-working labourer, and, to the clever and successful, one of distinction; he comes out of prison in a few weeks with his instructors, or, at least, new acquaintances—they invite him to their haunts and amusements—he is seen in their company, and suspected—finds a difficulty in getting back to the factory, or farm, or shop, if inclined to make the effort, and often has no home to go to—he commences the tour of the vagrant, or the trade of the pilferer, or, in fact, both.

The scenes which take place in gaols of this description, especially at night, when fourteen or more are locked up together in one room, without inspection, and with such light only as the moon and stars furnish through the grated windows, baffle all description. Gambling with stealthily fabricated dice or cards for the next day's food, fighting, singing vile songs, reciting tales of villany and debauchery, teaching or concocting crimes, with the most virulent oppression of the few who may be better disposed, are the common features of the horrid scene. If there be men who have a turn for the drama, plays are acted, and the most solemn scenes of the court of justice are the popular subjects. The most guilty criminal is the one most looked up to.

The day-room or night-room in a prison of this kind is a school of thievery and every vice, and a

place of torture to whatever right feeling may still linger in the breasts of unhappy persons who have fallen from better things. Nothing can be advanced for the continuance of such places save the expense of substituting better, and this truly must be a very short-sighted economy.

Persons unacquainted with the deep and practised cunning of professed thieves may well ask, How is it possible that scenes should take place of the kind referred to, in any prison? The following extracts, from accounts given by *prisoners*, will answer such questions:—

"You may inquire (says one to me) how gambling can go on in prisons, when, on admission, all are deprived of their money, &c. There is no difficulty in the case of the untried; and, through them, the other classes can work in one way or another. The untried may write as often as they please to their friends; and, for this purpose, can receive as much paper as their friends may send them, together with postage stamps. The stamps, of course, would pass as money in their gambling transactions. The winner would pass them out to his friends, under pretence that, if removed to some other prison, they might be of no use; the losers would get more from their friends, and thus the practice went on."

"The way we used to pass our time away (says another prisoner) was, some one would repeat over the robberies he had committed, and how he did them, and when he failed. I know I was wicked enough myself; but I heard more in that time than in all the years I had lived. At other times, we would play at draughts. They made the form of a frame on the table—one took the iron heel off his shoes, and made it sharp on the hearth; then some of us cut pieces of the upper leather from our shoes, and made the draughts. Some would play for so many spoonfuls of their gruel, others for their dinner, and so on. I saw two fights there, after we were locked up, from the parties that lost

refusing to pay the winner, and eating up the food when it came."

"I was now (says another) with such a desperate host of vagabonds as no person can imagine, who has not been in the same unhappy circumstances. There was nothing to be heard but blaspheming, cursing, and vowing vengeance on policemen and others who were the means of bringing them to prison,—in short, it was a hell upon earth. After a little while, I discovered my pocket turned inside out, and my bread gone. The discovery caused a laugh, and much amusement on all sides. The account which a young man gave me of what kind of a night I was likely to pass, quite alarmed me; so I determined to see the Governor, and importune to be removed to some other part. The Deputy-Governor did so immediately, to the best ward in the prison." In this place, however, occurred the following affecting circumstance, as related by the same man:—"The clock of St. Paul's having announced the time for retiring to sleep, every one made preparation for doing so, and most were soon stretched out at full length; but I noticed two men who did not seem anxious to retire like the rest, for they remained sitting at the table. When all seemed quiet, however, they prepared to do so likewise; but, before this, one knelt down to say his prayers, and then the other—but some wretch threw a bundle of somewhat at them, which alighted on the head of one of the men."

"In the assize-yard (writes a prisoner) there was a considerable number of what are called first offenders,—nine or ten, including myself, the remainder forming an overwhelming majority; two of them murderers, both of whom were subsequently condemned to death. I cannot reflect without pain on the reckless conduct of these two unhappy men during the few weeks I was with them As regarded themselves, they appeared indifferent to the probable result of their coming trial. They even went so far as to have a mock trial in the day-room, when, one of the prisoners sitting as judge, some others acting as witnesses, and others as counsel, all the proceedings of the court of justice were gone through,—the sentence pronounced, and mockingly carried into execution. I shall not soon forget that day, when one of these murderers was placed in the cell amongst us, beneath the assize-court, a few moments after the doom of death had been passed upon him. Prisoners on these occasions eagerly inquire, 'What

is the sentence?' Coolly pointing the forefinger of his right hand to his neck, he said, 'I am to hang!' he then broke into a fit of cursing the judge, and mimicked the manner in which he had delivered the sentence. The length of his trial was then discussed: all the circumstances that had been elicited during its progress were detailed and dwelt upon,—the crowded state of the court, the eagerness of the individuals present to get a sight of him, the grand speech of his counsel,—all were elements that seemed to have greatly gratified his vanity, and to have drugged him into a forgetfulness of the bitterness of his doom. He then dwelt upon the speech he should make on the scaffold, was sure there would be an immense concourse of people at his execution, as it was a holiday week; and from these, and numerous other considerations, drew nourishment to that vanity and love of distinction which had, in no small degree, determined, perhaps, the commission of his crime. To minds in the depths of ignorance, and already contaminated by vicious and criminal courses of life, such a man becomes an object of admiration. They obtain from him some slight memorial—such as a lock of his hair, or some small part of his dress, which they cherish with a sentiment for which veneration is the most appropriate term; while the notoriety he has obtained may incite them to the perpetration of some act equally atrocious.

"Remand-wards are hotbeds of crime. During my stay in the remand-wards myself, fifteen or sixteen *boys, varying in age from eight to fifteen years*, passed through the remand-ward of that prison. Throughout the whole day, these boys were associated with men who had been in nearly every prison in London. The offences for which these boys were arrested were in all cases of a comparatively light nature; and what appeared to me to aggravate the evils induced by this vicious system was, that two thirds of these boys, when brought up for examination a second time, were acquitted. Here, then, we see a number of boys condemned to association for four or five days with those whose whole lives have been spent in a course of crime; here they listen to their relations of feats, the cleverness of which they can readily perceive, whilst their minds are not sufficiently cultivated to feel the immorality; nay, they are even trained in such places to that manual dexterity which characterises an accomplished thief.

"*A very young boy, seven years of age*, was brought in a few hours after me, charged, in company with other two boys, somewhat older, with stealing some iron piping from the street. The little fellow—it was the first time he had ever been in such a place—cried bitterly all the afternoon of the Saturday, but by the Monday morning the exhortations of his companions, and their sneers at his softness, had reconciled him to his situation, and the eldest of the three was teaching him to pick pockets, practising his skill on almost all the other prisoners. His mother came to see him in the forenoon, and the boy was again overwhelmed with grief. Again his companions jeered him, called him by certain opprobrious epithets in use amongst such characters, and in a short time the boy was pacified, and romping merrily with his associates."

Another prisoner writes as follows:—

"In the month of January, 1844, I was committed to the ———— Gaol, in company with ten others, charged with various crimes, but the greater part theft. Of the women who formed a part, one had been discharged from the House of Correction only three days before; but having met some of her companions, who were waiting at the prison gate for her release, went to the nearest public-house, and became the worse for liquor, and forthwith went and stole a large roll of cloth. She was not the least disconcerted at her situation, and consoled herself with the idea of being able at no very distant period to see her father and mother, both of whom had been transported five years previous. The remaining portion of this precious cargo, men and women, amused themselves with singing obscene songs, &c. The persons who drove the van indulged them by stopping at every public-house on the road. After reaching the gaol, and being freed from our fetters, we were ushered into what is called by the prisoners the 'pen,' a kind of dungeon, from which we were taken one at a time to be searched and described. I was conducted into the felons' yard, being first furnished with a quart wooden pail, bound with rusty iron hoops, and also a wooden spoon. The yard was about twenty yards square, and on one side I perceived the hall, which was crowded with prisoners. I was ashamed for a long time to join them, and continued to walk the yard with my wooden pail and

spoon. . . . . I was reflecting on the uncertainty of human affairs,—I, who was only a few days previous pursuing my business in seeming security, enjoying the affection of my wife and children, was now thrust into a den of thieves. I was not allowed to proceed further with this train of thought, for the turnkey coming towards me, requested me to come into the hall, at the same time taking my small bundle of shirts, &c., which I had under my arm. He led the way and I followed. After we were in the hall, he said, 'I had better put your things in my closet, or some of these gentlemen may fancy a shirt or a pair of drawers.' This being done, he requested that they would turn out in the yard, and allow the new men to smell the fire,—a command which was instantly obeyed. I had now an opportunity of warming myself, and the turnkey had now a proper time to ask me the nature of my offence, of which he was anxious to know. I told him as briefly as possible. He did not seem satisfied with my statement, but as the bell had rung for prayers, he was prevented from putting farther questions.

"The prayers being over, to the apparent satisfaction of all, preparations were made for the supper. At this time it was impossible to distinguish any voice in particular; all was confusion. The noise occasioned by so many wooden pails and spoons (with some of the prisoners who were bartering their supper before they had received it, for a cotton handkerchief or a bit of tobacco) is beyond description. A second bell now rang for the prisoners to assemble in the yard to receive their supper, which consisted of one pint of gruel and half a pound of bread. I received mine with the rest, but I could not eat it. The suppers soon disappeared, after which the prisoners repaired in groups to the pump situated at one side of the yard, to wash their spoons and pails. When this operation was completed, the bell rang to prepare for bed. Accordingly, all the prisoners had to form a line along one side of the yard, that their names might be called over. During this time, I was wondering where the sleeping apartments were situated. However, by this time the foremost of the line had entered a small door, and I soon found myself ascending a flight of stone steps. We were ordered to halt on reaching the second story of the prison, which being done, a large iron door was opened, through which we entered. When we arrived at the iron door, our line had

been cut into parties of eight men. My group halted at 37 cell; the door was opened, and we entered. On the door being secured, I found myself in the company of seven indescribables. They began by telling me that the night previous they were singing, and being heard, the head turnkey came into their cell, and ordered them into the passage, giving them only their mattresses, and no covering whatever; and as they could not get any sleep themselves, they were determined the other prisoners should have none; therefore they ran whooping in the passage the whole night. The bedsteads were of iron, each fastened to the wall with a large chain. I threw myself on the one I chanced to select, without undressing, and for a moment could scarcely believe the scene reality. I, who had always the greatest abhorrence of a thief, was now in the company of seven, and in prison. . . . . They had every one been previously convicted. One of them, committed for horse-stealing, had been, as he stated, tried twenty-four times. 'The next,' said he, 'will make twenty-five,' and singing at the same time a line from Rory O'More, 'There 's luck in odd numbers.' 'Yet,' added he, 'I would rather have left off with two twelves.' . . . . . They now began singing. They continued to sing until about eleven o'clock, when they one by one dropped to sleep. At a quarter to eight the cell door opened, and a gruff, hoarse voice ordered the windows to be thrown open, which being done, we entered the passage, and put on our boots, &c., and descended into the yard. The turnkey was waiting in the hall to receive us, and gave the order for the prisoners to wash, and straight their hair. This being done, he called me into his closet, and told me that I could wait until all the prisoners were washed, and he would then allow me to *wipe on his towel*, stating that there were only four towels for the whole of the prisoners. I thanked him for his kindness. He now persuaded me to keep myself, adding, that he had ascertained the nature of my crime, and was glad to find they had not got me right, and for little things I wanted he was my humble servant; 'and as to letters, that could also be made square.' The prisoners were now all washed, and he gave me his towel, and told me to leave my coat on the hall table. I washed, and proceeded to my coat for my pocket-comb. But what was my astonishment when I found that all the pockets had been emptied! . . . . . .

"The bell now rang for breakfast—I fell in with the rest, but did not take my allowance of gruel and bread. I stated to the head turnkey, who served out the gruel, that I should maintain myself. He stated that the prison diet was good enough for any man. After all the prisoners were seated at their breakfast, my *homme à la provision*, the turnkey, signified that we had better prepare a ticket for the day's provision. Breakfast was now over, and I was waiting to see how they employed their time between meals. I observed a few Bibles and books on the shelves, with some slates; but, on a closer inspection, I found, from the dust that was accumulated upon them, that they had not been removed for some time. The hall was so crowded with prisoners that all could not be seated at one time. The turnkey offered me his stool, which was close to the fire,—which I gladly accepted. One of the prisoners now began to tell a story, which, when he had finished, was loudly praised, and he was at liberty to call on another prisoner for a second story. If the prisoner so called upon can tell a story, and will not, from disinclination, that prisoner must forfeit two potatoes out of his allowance at the dinner to the prisoner who told the last story. A thief is not considered accomplished unless he can tell a new story almost every day; therefore they take great pains to learn from each other, or make an exchange of stories, each repeating bit by bit until he has the whole story perfect. After spending about two hours in this profitable manner, they were ordered into the yard to walk; the turnkey told me I was exempt. When the hall was clear, he took another opportunity of telling me of his readiness to serve me. I perceived his meaning, and told him that, whether I wanted his assistance or not, I would recompense him. This was what he was waiting to hear. The hour for walking being expired, the prisoners returned to the hall, and announced to the turnkey that the van for the conveyance of prisoners was just arrived, and that 'eight suits of county were gone through the trap;' and now bets were offered as to who was among the number of the prisoners arrived in the van. So passed the time till the dinner-bell. After the prisoners had entered the hall, all those from the town laid their dinners on the shelves, in case that a companion might have arrived. About half-past one, six men entered, who were instantly recognised by their companions, and the dinners divided. Presently the

county men made their appearance, but not one offered them anything to eat. These men, as well as the others, had all been in the prison before, and consequently knew that they would not get anything to eat until the supper time. In the evening, on the names being called over, one of the county men was placed next to me. This change did not seem to please; they told the county man that if he had sense enough to have kept out of gaol, they should not have lost their companion. This met with no reply from the county man. One of them asked him how many horse-beans he stole. But they could draw no answer from him. After a short time, the county man began to ask me a few questions, and to tell me the nature of his offence. It appeared that he had borrowed a spade from the constable of the parish where he was living, to complete a job of work that he had undertaken, having broken his own previously. His work was three miles from his parish, and it was his custom to leave the spade with his work, and not to carry it to and fro every morning and evening. The evening prior to his being given into custody, he had returned as usual from his labour, and was partaking of his supper, which his good wife had prepared for him, when his neighbour the constable entered his cottage and demanded his spade, stating he wanted to use it that evening, and must have it. The borrower told him that he had left it with his work, but that he would return it him the first thing in the morning. But this would not do for the constable, who said he had sold it; and the next morning his neighbour took him to a magistrate, a few miles from the parish, who committed him to prison. The other prisoners were too busy planning future operations to interrupt us in our discourse. This story did not strike me as being true, though it proved afterwards to be quite correct. After a little more conversation he fell asleep. I pitied the man's case. The other prisoners were now snoring, and I was left to my own reflections. I repeated aloud several passages from Young's 'Night Thoughts,' also a prayer for my dear wife and children. I slept soundly, not waking until seven o'clock in the morning, and felt much refreshed. I seemed to have laid all my care on Him who careth for us all. At nine o'clock I received a quantity of letters—one from my beloved wife, the remainder from Liverpool. I wrote a letter for the honest county man, and answered my dear wife's. Nothing particular occurred throughout the

day,—the prisoners telling stories, and laying plans for future operation, even beyond transportation. In the evening I was shifted, and put into a cell with some Manchester pickpockets. One only could write, and I was engaged to write for the whole next day. Day after day did I pass in this way. The Governor sent for me one day, to say that he felt obliged for my writing the prisoners' letters, as he had less difficulty in reading them. He ventured, at the same time, to say a little respecting my case. He thought I had nothing to fear. I was now in the confidence of all the prisoners; every plan and every trouble were communicated to me. About this time, it was drawing near the sessions, and a more than usual quantity of letters were being written; and now I had to be taught the art of secret writing, on the plan adopted by thieves when writing to each other on important business. I venture to say that the receipt is not to be found in all the books extant; and the following is the method. . . . . I had my doubts as to the efficacy of this ingenious gaol method, until I was convinced by seeing a prisoner perform the operation on a letter which he had received from a companion in ——— Gaol. The thieves keep this method a profound secret, as it is of especial service to them. I still continued to sleep with the Manchester heroes, nor was the county man shifted; but I was astonished to hear, from his sleeping companions, that he had agreed with them to rob his parish church. He knew, they stated, where the church plate was kept. They stated it would be a good thing, as Lord ——, on whose estate the church stood, had presented £150 to the vicar, for a new service of sacramental plate; 'and then,' continued they, 'there is the old besides.' When this was told me, I could scarcely credit it; but on asking the man himself, I found it quite correct. They had talked him into an attempt to rob the church. They had represented to him that his character was now gone, through coming to prison, and, whether acquitted or not, he would always be looked upon as a thief; and therefore it was as well for him to do something, and deserve it. The next market-day his bail released him. A Scotchman had, with the rest, admitted me into his confidence. He was holding the office of barber to the prisoners—no prisoner being allowed to shave himself. At this custom, a few desperadoes in the hall would remark that, if they could be prevented from cutting the

throats of others, there was no fear of them cutting their own. My Scotchman was a returned convict, and was committed for stealing a piece of beef-suet from a butcher's shop. He was passing himself off as a sailor, which he did remarkably well. He was also dressed in sailor's attire. He pleaded guilty to having taken the suet, alleging to the committing magistrates that he was drunk at the time, and had been in that state ever since he was discharged from his ship; and so well did he manage his matters, that not only the magistrates and the Governor believed him, but all the prisoners in the yard. He was called Sailor Jack. He had not told this secret to any one but myself, stating that he had had too much experience with thieves, to trust them with secrets. The magistrates had promised to speak for him at the assizes, so that his punishment should be slight. He was intimately acquainted with every settlement in Australia, and also with most of the notorious convicts that had, in the preceding few years, been sent out. He had also visited the Bermudas. He knew every street, court, and alley in Sydney, and likewise all the convicts who were keeping spirit-shops. Our numbers were now much increased; and those prisoners (chiefly boys) who were committed for the sessions were removed into an adjoining yard. These boys were desperate and daring thieves. One was stated to be seven years of age, and so small, that, as the thieves of a larger growth would sometimes say, 'he might be put through a key-hole.' He had all the notions of a man, and prided himself in being called, by those who knew him, 'The Pocket-pistol.' His answers to questions that I would sometimes put to him were really astonishing. I had much reason to believe that he was at least ten years of age. He made several attempts to chew tobacco, but it was too much for him. 'How,' said I, 'did you spend your money?' 'Why,' said he, 'the greatest part was spent at the theatre and the "Blue Pig"' (a public-house situated in a court frequented by male and female thieves of the prisoner's own age). I would here add, that from conversations I have had with prisoners of this description, they endeavour as much as possible *to imitate whatever character, in the shape of a thief*, they may have seen represented in the theatres; and if ever they purchase a book, it is certain to be the life of *some notorious robber*. The name of a dead robber of note is venerated

by a true thief. I have heard them dwell hours on a tale that might have been related in five minutes. The propensity for thieving is so great in some, that they have declared to me, they would rather steal a thing than have it given them. In this state, I really believe it to be a disease of the mind, and totally incurable. A thief, a native of Manchester, told me that he has walked a mile, on some occasions, to a railway station, for the purpose of feasting his eyes on the passengers' trunks and boxes: though he well knew an attempt to steal would be fruitless. I had seen, in the turnkey's closet, some Voyages and Travels in Persia, Palestine, and Arabia; and I hit upon the expedient of trying the effect of the Arab character upon them. I now began to read the manners and customs of the Arabs. This delighted them; *and numerous were the applications made as to the distance between Australia and Arabia.* I had no peace until I had completed the Arab tales."

Thus, as the Bishop of London, in a sermon for the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline, wrote in 1828,—

"The prison, instead of a school of discipline and reform, may become the lazar-house of a moral pestilence, in which those who are dying of the plague and those who are only suspected of infection are crowded together in one promiscuous mass of disease and death. In this case, it is clear that the offender is treated with injustice and cruelty. The punishment which was justly decreed against him is aggravated by unauthorised circumstances of horror—circumstances which inflict an undesigned but irreparable injury upon his soul, without adding in any degree to the awfulness and exemplarity of his punishment. Upon the treatment which a *youthful delinquent* receives when detected in his first offence, depends, in all probability, his character and conduct

for the remainder of his life, and his prospects in eternity. To consign him, *when only suspected* (and therefore presumed by the law to be innocent), or even when convicted of a slight offence, to a common punishment and an indiscriminate intercourse with the most hardened and abandoned criminals, is to force him into moral contagion, and, probably, upon spiritual destruction."

The Silent Associated System.

It was a great step towards real improvement, to prevent communication amongst associated criminals by what is called *the silent system*. A stop is put by this method at once to all open blasphemy, profaneness, riot, and obscenity; but this discipline clearly fails in some essential particulars, if reformation of morals, as well as correction of the offender, be attempted.

It keeps alive old associations by perpetual exercise. On every side the individual is surrounded by persons of the same stamp. If long in the trade of thieving, he knows a great number. If only for the first time committed, he has made some acquaintances, if not in the streets, in the remand-prisons. He now recognises them. He is recognised in turn. Every sessions and assize bring him news in some new comer; and the winking of the eye, the movement of the finger, a sneeze, or a cough, is enough to communicate what is desired. The length of sentences is discussed in this way by a great num-

ber, and in the mind by all. Prisoners come in and leave at different times; so that every week, almost every day, in a large prison, tells some tale.

Classification of prisoners according to the technicality of legal distinctions allows no approach, seemingly, towards separating the very bad from the better sort. They are continually changing places, those in for felony in one sessions being in for larceny or assault the next, and *vice versâ*.

If the classification were left to able and experienced governors it would perhaps be better; but no classification could prevent the evils referred to. They are essential to the system. As things are, it is a most distressing sight to see a child of nine or ten years old sitting by the side of a man grown grey-headed in wickedness; a novice in crime next to a receiver of stolen goods, who will meet him in the streets in a week or two, and urge him on to crimes of which he himself may reap the profit; a modest woman, perhaps, committed for some petty theft, by the side of a shameless and abandoned person, or a foul betrayer of her own sex.

It does more than keep alive such associations and habits of thought, although these alone, whilst permitted in the mind, can allow no reformation; for either the sympathies of the man, true to nature, and the feelings of a heart not yet hardened in viciousness, are so drawn out towards his companions in suffering that he gradually becomes one of them at last, in disposition and character; or, wrapping himself up in selfishness and sullen pride,

he hardens his heart against all feeling, and hates officers and fellow-prisoners alike.

Then the silent system presents so many temptations to communication, as to render two things inevitable, both unfriendly in the highest degree to real reformation,—perpetual surveillance and perpetual punishment.

If there exist neither of these conditions in a prison on that plan, then there must be the corruption which marks the older styles of prisons. If strictly carried out, the prisoner, though he mean to do well, must be in constant fear. But the dread of punishment is no element of real reformation. You may make a man obedient by it, and passive even under oppression, but in doing so you may be destroying the only hope of such result. Distrust a prisoner, and he will not trust you; oppress him, he will kick against authority openly, or, retiring within himself, will spend his time in concocting plans for escape, for evasion, for annoyance. Treat him as a fellow-man, though fallen and debased, and there is hope.

How can a prisoner ever consider himself safe from accusation or from punishment so surrounded and so watched,—watched in every movement of his feet, his hands, his lips, his eyes,—watched in his sleep, watched in his very *dreams?*

"The posture of stooping in which the prisoners work at picking oakum or cotton (says a prisoner from Lancashire) gives ample opportunities of carrying on a lengthened conversation without much

chance of discovery, so that the rule of silence is a dead letter to many. At meals also, in spite of the strictness with which they are watched, the order is constantly infringed; but the time of exercise affords an almost unlimited power of communicating with each other. The closeness of their position and the noise of their feet render intercommunication a very easy matter. However, all possible precaution is taken to prevent it, but, as I have mentioned, without effect. But it may be questioned (says this same man), whether this way of forcing silence upon the prisoners, who are side by side throughout the day, is not attended with consequences as bad as might be looked for from unrestricted conversation. Does it not (he asks) conduce to the strengthening of deceitful habits, by keeping all on the alert to avoid detection when attempting to communicate with each other? To be sure, they attend chapel daily; but this may be termed the golden period of the day to most of them, for it is here, by holding their books to their faces, and pretending to read with the chaplain, they can carry on the most uninterrupted conversation."

The Separate or Cellular System.

From all these defects the discipline of *separate confinement* is free. Under it the propagation of crime is impossible. The young, the comparatively virtuous, the penitent, are protected. All are punished, and the *worst most severely*. The con-

tinuity of habits is broken off, the mind is driven to reflection, and conscience resumes her seat. The individual whose intentions are good, may begin to cherish those feelings to which we have referred as impossible when associated with the vilest of the vile. It is sufficiently severe as a legal punishment in itself. There is no need of harshness of manner, nor loudness of voice to enforce order, nor occasion for those feelings in officers, which so often find vent in irritating language towards congregated criminals.

It is interesting here to view the sketch which the sagacious Paley drew by anticipation of this sort of punishment:—

"Of the reforming punishments," he writes, "which have not yet been tried, none promises so much success as that of solitary imprisonment, or the confinement of criminals in separate apartments. This improvement augments the terror of the punishment; secludes the criminal from the society of his fellow-prisoners, in which society the worse are sure to corrupt the better; weans him from the knowledge of his companions, and from the love of that turbulent, precarious life in which his vices had engaged him,—is calculated to raise up in him reflections on the folly of his choice, and to dispose his mind to such bitter and continued penitence, as may produce a lasting alteration in the principles of his conduct."

Separate confinement must not be confounded with what is usually called solitary, from which it

is distinguished by several particulars, which modify the severity of the punishment, and render more effectual the means to be applied for the reformation of criminals.

In separate confinement the solitude is relieved by more frequent intercourse with moral and religious instructors, and by a more liberal use of the means of improvement. The learning and practice also of some sort of manufacture, alleviates the tedium of the imprisonment, and especially when the individual is made to understand that these things are intended for his reformation, and for the re-establishment of his character and prospects in after life. Nevertheless, separate confinement, with all the favourable circumstances which are found in this National Prison, is felt to be a punishment of more than ordinary severity. The severity of separate confinement consists in its opposition to the laws and impulses of our social nature, and in the pressure which it exercises on the mind. Hence may be derived some of its strongest recommendations as a mode of reformation; but to the same cause are due many of its difficulties in application, for mental sufferings cannot be measured nor adjusted.

Criminals are persons who more than others have shaken off all restraint, and indulged in licentious freedom from their youth. They derive countenance and support in a profligate and lawless career, from confederacy with others of a like character;

and with companions in criminality they forget, in continual excitement, all fear and self-reproach. For such persons to be shut in from everything of this kind, is to lose at once their only strength and comfort. Their condition resembles that of the drunkard after a night's debauch, when his frame is subject to a painful depression. Men, before inconsiderate, reckless, and self-willed to an amazing degree, are now driven to reflection, not for a few hours or days, but for months together; while their hitherto dormant or untaught conscience is aroused and enlightened by the Word of God. This, without possibility of escape, constitutes a most severe, but at the same time a most salutary, infliction.

To form a just conception of separate confinement as a punishment, we must not limit our view to those persons who feel that they are actually deriving benefit from education, or other means of improvement, for these have all the support which progress and the prospect of bettering their condition in after life supplies to the mind. To some individuals in these circumstances, imprisonment ceases almost for a time to be a punishment, becoming something eligible until they have acquired enough of the knowledge or skill which they prize for their own purposes. One should look also, and I think more especially, because of the danger to which they are exposed, at the condition of those who, from previous education or acquired habits,

take little or no interest in the occupation provided for the prisoner, and are not deriving from their situation any direct advantage.

From the severity and peculiar character of separate confinement, it is calculated to strike more terror into the minds of the lowest and vilest class of criminals than any other hitherto devised, whilst those who have not fallen so low, feel more than compensated for its peculiar pressure, by the protection and privacy which it affords, and most of all the penitent. It will allow, also, from these causes, a diminution of the term of imprisonment for minor offences. This meets the objection against its expensiveness; and what is of greater importance, it will thus prevent much evil, and save whole families often from pauperism and crime. In all cases, the disruption of domestic ties for a lengthened period is most prejudicial in its consequences. The wives of convicts, it is notorious, who have but a distant hope of joining their husbands, too often give themselves up to a reckless way of living, and when they become degraded, the children are suffered to grow up in ignorance and vice, to be a charge or a pest to society.

Separate confinement requires no severity *for example's sake*,—I mean in punishing for prison offences; and so the peculiar character, disposition, and circumstances of the delinquent, may fully be taken into account in every case. A comparison between the punishments in Pentonville Prison on the *separate system*, and Cold-bath Fields Prison,

on the *associated silent system*, in any year, will illustrate this.

Thus, in 1847 the number of punishments in Pentonville was 220, the whole number of prisoners in that year being 701; in Cold-bath Fields, 10,807, amongst 8886 prisoners. It is to be noted, also, that of these cases of punishment 25 men and 24 women were "in handcuffs or other irons," whereas in Pentonville there was only one case which called for such an infliction.

Yet I am very far from thinking, that we have attained to the full benefits which the individuality of the separate system holds out for admonition, expostulation, and the use of moral means of correction for the breach of prison regulations. In a prison of this kind, where so many advantages in the way of trade, or education, and books exist, this moral discipline may be carried out most beneficially by the withdrawing for a time such privileges as have been abused, and by advancing in severity, according to the repetition of the offence or its moral turpitude, until the *refractory* ward be used in its different degrees, terminating in the deprivation of light and ordinary food, the two last things of which a prisoner should ever be deprived, especially under separate confinement.

Separate confinement, relieved from the necessity of inflicting disproportionate punishment, admits also of the application, under the very strictest discipline, of much kindness. The stout-hearted can be kept down without brute force; all may

be reasoned with, and every single prisoner experience the influence of that which Inspiration so beautifully calls THE LAW OF KINDNESS. Now, of all things, kindness most smoothes the ruggedness of temper, subdues antagonism, and clears the ground of impediments to the culture of right feelings and principle. If this be combined with firmness of purpose, and a superior mind in the Governor, discipline becomes a very valuable part of such reformatory means as can be used in a prison.

The following case will show some of the advantages of separate confinement:—

"E. E. S—— was a Jew, a young man of a respectable German family, who had the calamity of being confined in a common prison in this country. Naturally not good-tempered, and now greatly depressed, he felt little disposed to join in the rough and boisterous games which take place in the night-rooms of that prison after locking-up time. The discovery of his temper and pride to his fellow-prisoners heightened their merriment: they now had one whom they could all torment, and no opportunity was ever lost, day or night. Awakened out of sleep by the infliction of a blow or some sort of torture, he was perpetually calling for help and shouting murder. Officers came, of course, to calm the tumult, but his complaints were drowned in those of his more cunning and confederated adversaries. The consequence was, he was frequently punished. He sought for protection from the higher authorities whenever they visited the place, and got

no redress, but became as odious to his officers as he was to his oppressors. No prisoner dared to tell the truth, though two or three were disposed to stand by him. For months after he came to Pentonville Prison the poor man could speak of nothing but the injustice and cruelty of the English. At last he became quiet, and even cheerful, under different treatment; studied most assiduously the New and Old Testaments, in reference to the claims of Christianity upon his belief; withdrew himself from the teaching of his Rabbi, who could not satisfy his inquiring mind; and before he left, professed an entire acquiescence in the truths of our Divine religion."

Against all these moral advantages of separate confinement, it has been urged that, as a punishment, it presses with undue severity upon the physical and mental health of the prisoner. This is not the fact, however, unless carried out with unnecessary rigour; to an extreme length; or with an absoluteness of rule, which allows no deviation of treatment, notwithstanding the amazing diversity of the human mind. It was, certainly, carried to an extreme in America, with disastrous results; also in the Millbank Penitentiary after that model; and it has been proposed on the Continent, in different places, to be carried out in the same manner. Thus not long since, at the *Congrès Pénitentiare* held at Frankfort:—M. Mittermaiér, President of the Chamber of Deputies of the Grand Duchy of Baden, stated that in Baden complete separation

was limited, by law, to six years, unless the condemned expressly demanded a continuation of it. M. Suringar, President of the Netherlands Society for the amelioration of prisons in the same congress, asks, "What should be the maximum duration of separate imprisonment?" "Formerly I considered," he replies, "six or seven years as the term. I have changed my opinion since I have seen Pentonville; and I am now satisfied that if imprisonment should be continued for a longer time, means will be found to render it more supportable to prisoners."

The opinion formed by M. Suringar from *a visit* to Pentonville, and that of the Chaplain of Pentonville, after more than 10 years' experience, and 100,000 visits to separated prisoners, are widely different.

In fact, I look with no small alarm at such an extension of separate confinement, *under the most favourable circumstances*, and I am persuaded that the means to be found to render it supportable do not exist on the Continent. In despotic governments, or in bad hands at home, separate confinement would soon be converted into absolute solitude, and become an engine of most cruel torture.

Pentonville Prison was opened with every advantage, which a philanthropy enlightened by a thorough acquaintance with the evils of other systems could suggest, or a powerful Government could bestow. The mind of the prisoner was sedulously cultivated, and his thoughts in solitude occupied by trade and books. His teachers in trade in no case degenerated into taskmasters. He was not over-

worked. If his trade proved too much for his strength, it was at once changed by the medical officer. The monotony of solitude was broken every day by a religious service in which the prisoner took a considerable part—an immense support to the mind—and weekly, more than once, by collective instruction in school.

Then the construction of the prison, in almost every point a model—a noble building—the very reverse of gloomy (a matter of no small importance to the spirits), was such as to show at once to a man, on admission, that he was entering "a prison of instruction and of probation rather than a gaol of oppressive punishment."

The whole, moreover, was under the constant superintendence of a Board of Commissioners, of whom every one might be considered an authority in questions of prison discipline as regards mind or morals, men of rank, character, and benevolence, one of whom every month visited* and conversed with each prisoner in his cell.

Thus Pentonville had a combination of singular advantages towards a most successful issue. Yet

* The value of such visits was very great: the prisoner was protected, and every officer learned how to treat the men under him. I may mention one Commissioner as particularly assiduous in this duty, the Duke of Richmond, to whose constant visits, on the Lord's-day especially, to the cells of this prison, as well as to the chapel service, his long practical experience, strict habits of discipline, and great kindness, gave more than ordinary weight, as an example to all officers in their treatment of prisoners.

the term of eighteen months' imprisonment proved to be too long, and the rigour of even our modified solitude too severe. (*See*, in Appendix, "Report of Chaplain of Pentonville Prison.")

The following comparison between the silent associated system of Auburn in America, and the Pennsylvanian solitary system, of which Pentonville is a modification, will interest the reader, as coming from the pen of no less a person than Oscar, the present King of Sweden, in his work on punishment, and gives a glance at the rival systems of penal discipline which have made so much noise on the other side of the Atlantic.

"The possibility of the prisoners' improvement," observes the royal author, "is an object of as great consideration for the philanthropist, as it is important in a political point of view. It is a noble endeavour, and worthy a state, to try to improve those among its members that have fallen into the paths of perdition, frequently enough in consequence of faulty legislation or prevailing prejudices. It is of importance to try, by preventing relapses, to decrease the constantly augmenting expenses to the state, for the conveyance and care of prisoners, and the no trifling loss of so many days' work, either thrown away or employed to little purpose.

"Both the American systems have in view the prisoner's improvement, although they proceed on different grounds, and employ different means.

"The Auburn acts properly through the outer discipline, and has its support in an instantaneous

punishment for the least fault against that discipline. The Philadelphian, on the other hand, leaves to the conscience both the punishment and the improvement.

"The Auburn system surrounds the prisoner with a variety of objects, which turn his attention to the outer world, and give constant nourishment to his evil inclinations. He is induced to deceive the strictness of his keepers, to impart his thoughts to his fellow-prisoners by whispers or by signs, and when he succeeds, his cunning insolence is encouraged by their approving glance. The Philadelphian, on the other hand, removes from the prisoner all dissipation, all support from injurious example, and leaves him helpless to his inward consciousness.

"Both the systems endeavour to accustom the prisoner to work and industry. But in the Auburn, labour presents itself in a repulsive form, as a punishment,—an unavoidable constraint; in the solitary cell, on the contrary, it forms the unhappy being's consolation and only diversion. A natural consequence of this will be, that it is embraced by the prisoner willingly and with interest.

"From this comparison it seems that the following conclusions may be drawn; viz.—

"That the Auburn system accustoms the criminal to an instantaneous obedience, a punctual performance of the work appointed, and to the observance of the prescribed discipline; but that his seeming improvement rests only on the fear of punishment, wherefore there is a danger of his relapsing into his

former guilty way of life so soon as he feels himself free from the keeper's lash.

"That the Philadelphian solitude acts more immediately on the mind, or on the origin itself of good or evil, and that the liberated prisoner takes with him the fruit of a useful self-examination, and of that inward warning voice to whose correcting severity he has been left." *

I began this chapter with some scenes of prison life in England, I would conclude with one from the interior of a continental prison, taken from the Memoir of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, in a letter to Samuel Hoare, Esq., in 1840, as follows :—

"Rome, March 3.

"I have had occasion to remember the excursion to the prison at St. Albans, which you and I took long ago, when, on Monday morning, Richards and I were trotting along in a *diligence* to Civita Vecchia. The gaol there, which was the object of our journey, is an old and strong fortress close by the sea, and contains 1364 desperate-looking criminals, all for the most aggravated offences. I am sure you never saw such a gang of malefactors, or such a horrid dungeon. We went, first, into a vaulted room, with a low ceiling, as I measured it, thirty-one yards long, twenty-one broad. There was light, but obscure. A good deal of the room was taken up by the buttresses which supported the arches. The noise on our entrance was such as may be imagined at the entrance of hell itself. All were chained most heavily, and fastened down. The murderers and desperate bandits are fixed to that spot for the rest of their lives ; they are chained to a ring, fastened to the end of the platform, on which

* Those who wish to see the whole subject of prison discipline fully and ably handled, must consult "Field on Prison Discipline" (Longmans, London).

they lie side by side, but they can move the length of their chain on a narrow gangway. Of this class, there were upwards of 700 in the prison; some of them famed for a multitude of murders; many, we are told, had committed six or seven; and, indeed, they were a ghastly crew,—haggard, ferocious, reckless assassins. I do not think that the attendant gaoler very much liked our being there. A sergeant in uniform was ordered to keep close by me; and I observed that he kept his hand upon his sword, as we walked up the alley between the adjacent platforms.

"There was a fourth room at some distance, and our guide employed many expedients to divert us from going there. * * * This was worse than any of the others: the room lower, damper, darker, and the prisoners with, if possible, a more murderous look. * * * The Mayor afterwards told us, that he in his official capacity knew that there was a *murder every month among the prisoners.* I spoke to a good many of them, and, with one exception, each said that he was condemned for murder or stabbing. I will tell you one short conversation: 'What are you here for?' said I to a heavy-looking fellow, lying on his back at the end of the room. He made no answer; but a prisoner near him, with the sharp features and dark complexion of an Italian, promptly said, 'He is here for stabbing' (giving a thrust with his hand to show how it was done). 'And why is he in this part of the prison?' 'Because he is incorrigible.' 'And what were you condemned for?' 'For murder.' 'And why placed here?' '*Sono incorrigibile.*' * * * In short, this prison combines together, in excess, all the evils of which prisons are capable. It is, as the Mayor said, a sink of all the iniquity of the state. The Capuchins certainly preach them a sermon on the Sunday, and afford them an opportunity of confession; of which, if the prisoners avail themselves, the priests must have enough to do. The sight of it has kindled in my mind a very strong desire that the old Prison Discipline Society should make a great effort, and visit all the prisons of the world. I had hoped that sound principles of prison discipline had spread themselves more widely; but I now fear that there are places, and many of them, in the world, in which it is horrible that human beings should live, and still more horrible that they should die."

"March 4.

"In the citadel of Civita Vecchia, Gasparoni and his gang are

confined, and have been so for the last fourteen years. There are many renowned robbers in this country, but none so celebrated as this Gasparoni; and I had the honour of an interview of two hours with him and his band. He is a very fine-looking fellow, about five feet eleven high, with as strong and *brick-wall* an arm as ever I felt, except, perhaps, General Turner's; he wore an old velvet coat, which had seen service with him, and a large peaked hat. There was nothing ferocious in the expression of his countenance. I am going to have his picture taken, a compliment which his appearance well deserves; for he is the *beau-idéal* of a Robin Hood or Rob Roy. By his side there was a fiendish-looking wretch, who plagued us with his interruptions. This fellow is said to have joined the band chiefly from his love of human blood, and his post was that of executioner.

"Gasparoni was very communicative; only that, either from the modesty which belongs to great men, or some latent hope of pardon, he greatly underrates his own exploits. For example, to my question, 'How many people have you murdered?' he replied, 'I cannot exactly recollect, somewhere about sixty!' whereas it is notorious that he has slaughtered at least double the number. Indeed, the Mayor of Civita Vecchia assured me, that he had received authentic information of 200; but he believed that even that number was still below the mark. This man, according to his own account, when he was but a young lad, killed a person in a quarrel and fled to the mountains, where he was joined by a few young men of similar character. Before he was twenty years old he had committed ten murders, and was at the head of a band of fifteen or twenty robbers, which afterwards amounted to about thirty of his own body-guard; but there were two or three other bands under separate commanders, one of whom was his brother; he, however, was lord paramount.

"It is incontestable that he kept a district of country of at least one hundred miles in circumference, between Rome and Naples, in the utmost terror and subjection. Those proprietors who were not slain by him fled the country, and were obliged to receive such a modicum of rent as the tenants who compounded with Gasparoni chose to pay; but the black mail which he levied was not extravagant. The Government at first offered 200 crowns for his head. This mounted up at last to 3000 crowns,

and that was the fixed price for many years, and a thousand soldiers were regularly employed in hunting him. 'But how then,' said I, 'did you escape?' 'That you will never understand,' he replied, 'till you see the rocks and precipices that are there. I and my men knew every turn; we have often been close to the soldiers, and let them pass us, when they had no notion they had such near neighbours.' Gasparoni had many conflicts with the military, in which he was uniformly successful; but in one affair he received a ball in the lower part of his neck, the scar of which he showed us. He described one conflict, in which, with ten or twelve of his men, he beat off, as he said, thirty soldiers; but the ill-looking scoundrel by his side said there were full sixty.

"Gasparoni's head-quarters were at Sonnino, where his wife and children resided, and where the whole population were devoted to him. This town had obtained so evil a reputation that on his surrender the Pope made a great effort to get it rased to the ground, but could not get the assent of the proprietor. I was interested by learning from him that the haunts he chiefly occupied for the purpose of observing the road were the three little towns perched on the rock, and shining like silver, Cora, Norma, and Sermoneta, which had so much attracted my admiration when I was at Appii Forum. He told me that he had spent a large proportion of his plunder upon spies at Rome, by whom he was made acquainted with the plans designed for his capture, and who also told him what persons coming along the road were worth catching; if emissaries were sent for the purpose of entrapping him, he was forewarned, and the vengeance he took on them was terrible. He crucified one of these men, and wrote underneath, 'Thus Gasparoni treats all spies.' He cut out the heart and liver of another, and sent them back to the man's widow.

"If any persons in the towns were active against him he always found means to punish them. If their offence was not very deep, they received a letter ordering them to pay on a certain day, at a certain place, 1000 or 2000 scudi; and such was the terror of his name that these demands were generally obeyed. Some of the magistrates in the strong town of Terracina, thinking themselves secure within their walls, ventured to incur his displeasure. Soon after the boys of the chief school,

while taking a walk near the gates, were surprised by him and his men, and carried away to the mountains; and a message was sent to the parents of almost all, fixing the amount of ransom, upon the payment of which they were restored. But the children of those who had exasperated him were not allowed to escape, their heads were sent back in a sack. Of the truth of this dreadful story there can be no doubt. A friend of mine asked Gasparoni about it; he admitted that he had seized the children, but said nothing about the murders. The gentleman said to him, 'I have heard more than this; I have been told you cut off the heads of three of them.' 'It is false,' said Gasparoni, 'it was but two.'

"It is odd enough that Gasparoni is very religious now; he fasts not only on Friday, but adds a supererogatory Saturday. He told me that he repented of his former life; but what it was he regretted I could not well make out, for he expressly justified the occasions in which he had proceeded to extremities with spies or travellers who resisted him. But curious as his theology now is, it is still more strange that, according to his own account, he was always a very religious man. I asked him whether he had fasted when he was a bandit? He said, 'Yes.' Why did you fast?' said I. '*Perchè sono della religione della Madonna*,' 'Which did you think was worst, eating meat on a Friday or killing a man?' He answered without hesitation, 'In my case it was a crime not to fast; it was no crime to kill those who came to betray me.' With all his present religion, however, he told the Mayor of the town the other day, that if he got loose, the first thing he would do would be to cut the throats of all the priests; and the Mayor said in this he perfectly believed him, and if he were now to break out he would be ten times worse than ever. One fact, however, shows some degree of scrupulosity. The people of the country bear testimony that *he never committed murder on a Friday!*"

Over one of the gaols of Rome, Howard found the motto:—

"Parum est improbos coërcere pœna, nisi probos efficias disciplinâ."

The foregoing is Rome's practical commentary upon this admirable sentiment.

CHAPTER IV.

CONVICT SYSTEMS, PAST AND PRESENT.

"The very end for which human government is established, requires that its regulations be adapted to the suppression of crimes."—PALEY.

IN 1596, the first mention is made in an act of Parliament of *banishment from the kingdom*, as a punishment for rogues and vagabonds. No place of exile is named. Probably the newly-founded colony of Virginia was in the minds of those who proposed that measure. In 1619, under James I., the practice actually began of transporting criminals to America; and, during the next century and a half, great numbers were sent to work as servants for the colonists. Under James II., at the close of the Duke of Monmouth's Rebellion, Judge Jefferies consigned a multitude of unhappy beings to the unwholesome labours of the Southern plantations. And, after the battle of Culloden, in the time of George II., great numbers of the captured rebels were exiled to America, and were actually put up to auction by those entrusted with the care of transporting them,

and sold to the settlers, at an average price of £20 a head.

The loss of the American colonies in 1783 put an end to this system of transportation. The prisons of England became crowded to excess. Howard, and others of kindred character, called attention loudly to the state of gaol-discipline, and to the dangers to be apprehended from the continuance of the defective arrangements which existed. It was suggested by some to ship the convicts of England off to the Western coast of Africa, there to be turned loose among the negroes. Others were for building huge penitentiaries, sufficient to hold the large body of criminals under sentence of transportation. Both these proposals were set aside by the grave objections to which they were manifestly open.

At this juncture, the discoveries of Captain Cook brought to light the capabilities of the vast island-continent of Australia. The interest of his narrative was attracting the attention of his fellow-countrymen of all classes, and, not the least, that of the Government, who saw, in these new possessions of the Crown, the means of removing their difficulty respecting the disposal of convicts. They were so far distant from England as to leave no chance, in the existing state of navigation, that prisoners conveyed to those parts would ever find their way back to their native land again. They were almost devoid of population, and yet well suited for sustaining life, and affording every ground for hoping, that, after some years of safe custody and punishment,

the discharged criminals might become settlers, and begin a new life of hope in another hemisphere.

One spot in particular, upon the Eastern shore, on which Sir Joseph Bankes (the great naturalist of Cook's Expedition) had landed, furnished to his scientific researches many new plants, and gave signs, it was thought, of extreme fertility. On this account it had been named Botany Bay. To this spot it was determined that a body of convicts should be sent: and on May 13th, 1787, the first expedition for this purpose left the shores of England, under the command of Capt. Arthur Phillip, R. N., who was also to be the Governor of the new colony. The fleet consisted of the *Sirius* (frigate), the *Supply* (armed tender), three store-ships, and six transports, having on board 565 male and 192 female convicts, and a body of above 200 soldiers—in all more than 1,000 souls. This was the foundation of our great Australian Empire.

It is a sad and humiliating fact, to the Church as well as to the Government of England at the time, which is related by the Rev. S. Marsden, who was a chaplain in the colony for more than 40 years, and is well known as the first who carried the Gospel to the cannibals of New Zealand. When the fleet was on the point of sailing with the first convicts for New South Wales in 1787, no clergyman had been thought of to accompany it. But a friend of his own, a pious man of some influence, anxious for their spiritual welfare, made a strong appeal to those in authority upon the subject, and, through

the intercession of the Bishop of London, the Rev. Richard Johnson was appointed as chaplain.

Botany Bay.

It was soon found that the bay selected for the new settlement was not at all adapted for the wants of a colony, being deficient in fresh water, and too confined for their numbers. The Governor resolved to proceed along the coast, and examine Broken Bay, some distance to the North. He stopped, however, on his way thither, to look in at a small inlet of the sea, marked in Captain Cook's charts as merely a *boat-harbour*, and called, from the name of the sailor who first discovered it, Port Jackson. On passing the lofty headlands, which form the entrance to this "boat-harbour," he was astonished to find himself in a haven, large enough to hold the navy of England—navigable for ships of war 15 miles from its mouth, indented with numerous coves, and sheltered from every wind. Here then, on Jan. 26th, 1788, the colony was established on the banks of Sydney Cove, then covered with thick woods, whose still tranquillity was now to be broken by the rude sound of the labourer's axe. The quiet of centuries was henceforth to give way to the noise of camps and towns, and the busy hum of men.

We are told of the ceremonies which attended this memorable occasion—how the flag of England was hoisted, and salutes were fired, "between which the healths of his Majesty, King George III., and

the Royal Family, with success to the new colony, were cordially drunk." No act of public worship, however, offered to the God of their fathers, consecrated the spot. In the words of Judge Burton:—"How different might have been the effect upon the minds of many of these poor convicts, if the day of their first landing in a new world had been solemnly marked, as the beginning of a new life under God, by an act of confession and prayer!"

One minister of religion, however, as we have seen, did accompany the expedition as chaplain; and the early Sabbaths of the new community were not suffered to pass away without some due observance of the ordinances of public worship. All that was possible under the circumstances was done by the faithful pastor. He went continually from settlement to settlement, from hut to hut, visiting alike the sick and well, the freemen and the convicts—sparing no pains, and losing no opportunity, for teaching them the way of God in truth. But his labours were but little appreciated by those in authority; and it causes, even now, a pang of regret and shame, to read and to record the painful discouragements he met with in the exercise of his ministry. Thus, while buildings of various kinds were erected by convict-labour for man's use—barracks for the soldiers and convicts, prisons for new offenders, houses for the Governor and his officers, an observatory for the purposes of science—no building whatever, even of the commonest kind, was reared for the worship of Almighty God. For six

long years, and although the colony had greatly increased in numbers, Mr. Johnson was left to minister in the open air, "wherever he could find a shady spot," subject to all the inconveniences and interruptions of the climate. After the landing had been effected, farms were laid out at Paramatta and other places, and a few convicts were set free, and received grants of land as settlers. A small colony also was sent to Norfolk Island, to examine its character, especially with a view to the growing of flax. The evil tendencies and idle habits of the convicts, repressed only during the confinement of the voyage, but not really corrected by religious influences, had become daily more apparent. Their ill behaviour towards the natives had produced shyness at first, which soon changed into open enmity, and many cruelties on both sides were committed.

The soil around Sydney was found to be unproductive. The cattle were neglected, and so were either lost or stolen. The convicts committed petty thefts, and then deserted into the woods for fear of the consequences. At one time forty persons started off upon their travels, and, as they supposed, *upon their road to China.* These travellers were mostly Irish convicts, who had a notion that China lay somewhere to the North, and were always making up parties for the purpose of decamping thither. Most of these wanderers perished by hunger.

The Governor considered it necessary to use very great severity in repressing disorders. There were many executions for small offences, or such as would

be considered small under other circumstances. Six soldiers, for instance, some of whom had hitherto borne irreproachable characters, were hung at one time, upon the information of an accomplice, for having obtained a false key to a store, and pilfered it. "Thefts innumerable were committed; and, although severe punishment was sure to follow detection, either it had lost its terrors, or the habits of depravity were become so much a part of their nature, as to subdue every other sensation." Much flogging also was administered. And it is curious to read (in our days) that one convict was heavily punished for an attempt to "impose" upon the people by the pretended discovery of a *gold-mine*. Sydney Cove was "thrown into a state of great excitement." He showed a piece of gold, which he said he had found: but, being twice sent with a police-party to point out the place, he failed in doing so, and was "rewarded" accordingly. At last he confessed that his story was a falsehood, and the piece of gold a fabrication out of a guinea and a brass buckle. But, says Col. Collins, the historian of the first fourteen years of the colony, "Among the people of his own description, there were many who believed, notwithstanding his confession and punishment, that he had actually made the discovery, and that he was induced to say it was a fabrication, merely to secure it to himself, that he might make use of it at a future opportunity." The discontent of the colony was increased also by another circumstance. Several of the convicts, after a certain time,

claimed their liberty, alleging that the term of years had elapsed for which they had been transported. Unfortunately, it was found that the papers, which would have shown whether their statements were true or not, had been all left behind in England. To have allowed the claim of one under these circumstances would have been to have opened the door wide for all manner of imposition. Painful as it was, the only course that could be taken by the Governor was, to announce that all must continue to work as convicts, until he could send word to England, and receive a message back—involving an additional servitude of at least 18 months; and that then, any, who had a right meanwhile to be free men, should be paid as free labourers for the extra time they had wrought.

Difficulties thus increasing in Sydney, it was deemed advisable to divide the colony, by sending a large body of 200 convicts and two companies of soldiers to join the little settlement on Norfolk Island. Of course they went without a clergyman: but, two years after, we are told that "the Rev. Mr. Johnson voluntarily visited Norfolk Island, for the purpose of performing those duties of his office, which had hitherto been altogether omitted through the want of a minister to perform them."

In 1793, the *sixth* year after their landing, Mr. Johnson, "finding that, from the pressure of other works, it was not easy to foresee when a church would be erected," resolved to build a little chapel at his own expense. It cost him only £40;

was begun in July and opened in August: so that, neither as regards time nor expense, was there any excuse for the long delay which had occurred. The building was 73 feet long and 15 feet broad, and at right angles with the centre projected another building, 40 feet by 15 — the whole rudely constructed of wattles and plaster, and thatched. One of the first sermons which Mr. Johnson preached in it was upon the sudden death of two convicts, who were struck by lightning; from the text, "There is but a step between me and death." Three years more were suffered to pass away before a similar temporary building was erected at Paramatta. This was in September: *in the January previous we read of the convicts being allowed to fit up and open a playhouse in Sydney.*

On Oct. 1st, 1798, the first of these little chapels was destroyed by fire. "This was a great loss; for, during week days, the building was used as a school, in which from 150 to 200 children were educated, under the inspection of Mr. Johnson. There was not a doubt that the atrocious act was the effect of design, and had been perpetrated in consequence of an order enforcing attendance on Divine Service, and with a view of rendering the Sunday a day of as little decency and sobriety as any other day in the week. The workers of mischief were, however, disappointed. For the Governor (Hunter), being highly irritated at such a shameful act, suffered not a single Sunday to be lost, having ordered a new store-house, just finished, to be fitted up as a

church." The same Governor, two years afterwards, in 1800, built a stone church at Paramatta, and laid the foundations of St. Philip's church at Sydney.

But Mr. Johnson was no longer alone. *In* 1794, *the* Rev. S. Marsden *was sent as a second chaplain.* For six years they laboured together. And then, upon Mr. Johnson's leaving for England in 1800, after twelve years of painful service, Mr. Marsden was left for seven years more in sole charge of the colony, with its increasing thousands of scattered population, and its two "decent places of worship," the *store-house* at Sydney, and the "handsome stone church" at Paramatta. In 1803, a costly communion-service reached the colony for St. Philip's church, the gift of the good King George III. It was not till Christmas-day, 1810, that this second stone church in N.S. Wales was completed, and the store-house ceased to be the place of public worship for the people of Sydney.

We have said that Mr. Marsden had the sole spiritual charge of the convicts for seven years. But this statement requires correction. From the very first, all *Irish* convicts had been transported to N. S. Wales, and very many of these were Roman Catholics. For the religious instruction of these, in the year 1803, the Rev. James Dixon, a *R. C. Priest under sentence of transportation*, was set free, (in the words of the official notice,) in order to "enable him to exercise his clerical functions."

The settlement of Norfolk Island, which had now been a *penal* settlement since the year 1826, and

contained at this very time 200 convicts, of the very worst class—men doubly steeped in crime—besides soldiers and civil officers and their families, was without any minister of religion whatever, and had been so from the very first occupation of the island, forty years before, except for the single visit of Mr. Johnson in 1791. This state of things remained unchanged in Norfolk Island till the year 1836, at which time it contained 1,000 convicts.

"In 1836," (we quote from the report of the House of Commons on Transportation in 1838,) "Sydney contained about 20,000 inhabitants, of whom 3,500 were convicts, mostly assigned servants, and about 7,000 had been prisoners of the Crown. These, together with their associates among the free population, were persons of violent and uncontrollable passions, incorrigibly bad characters, preferring a life of idleness and debauchery, by means of plunder, to one of honest industry. More immorality prevailed in Sydney than in any other town of the same size in the British dominions. There the vice of drunkenness had attained its highest pitch. The quantity of spirits consumed in Sydney was enormous. Even throughout the whole of N. S. Wales the annual average, for every human being in the colony, had reached four gallons a-head."

In the very year (1838) in which the above report was made, Judge Burton had the painful duty of passing sentence of death upon seven persons, part of a gang, who had butchered in cold blood a number of inoffensive natives—"twenty-eight at least,

or many more—men, women, and children, old men, and babes hanging at their mothers' breasts —poor, defenceless, human beings." (We quote from the Judge's words on this dreadful occasion.) "A party of blacks were seated around their fires, which they had just made up for the night. They were resting secure under the protection of one of you—they were totally unsuspecting—when they were suddenly surrounded by a band of armed men, of whom you, the prisoners at the bar, were half, and all of whom were equally guilty. The blacks fled to the hut of one of you for safety; but that hut proved the mesh of their destruction. In that hut, in which they had taken refuge, depending for security—in that hut, amidst the tears, the sobs, and the groans of the unhappy victims, you bound them, one by one, with cords—the father, the mother, and the child. You led them away a small distance from the hut, where, one and all, with the exception of one woman, they met with one common destruction. You took extraordinary pains to keep this affair from coming to light. You burned the bodies for the purpose of concealment. But it pleased God to send a witness to the spot, before they were entirely consumed. Afterwards some one removed even the remains that were left. The place was swept and garnished, so that no vestige of this deed might remain. But the crime had been witnessed in Heaven, and could not be concealed. The hundreds of birds of prey, that were floating about, were evidence enough to the whole neighbourhood

that something dead was lying there, which would attract even the least interested to the place, to see if it were not his own ox or his ass. But, notwithstanding all the efforts that were made, the rib and jawbone of a child and some teeth were found on the spot. And it pleased God, in His Providence, the day before the crime was committed, to send rain upon the earth, through which your tracks were easily traced. From the hut *to* the scene of murder there were the marks of horsemen on each side, and the naked feet of the blacks in the middle; while *from* the spot there were no traces of the blacks returning. This offence, too, was not committed without premeditation; for it was proved that the party was collecting down the river some days before the murder. You were met preparing powder-pouches, and putting straps to swords, doubtless for this purpose. On Saturday you were asking for the blacks, of course intending to do something with them. On Sunday evening, after spending the day in looking for them, you took them away from the station, thus closing that hallowed day by a scene of murder. You might have flattered yourselves that you would have been protected and screened. Many did seek to conceal it—none endeavoured to bring it to light: but, unhappy men, what you did was seen by GOD!

"I cannot but look at you with commiseration. You were all transported to this colony, although some of you have since become free. You were taken out of a Christian country, and placed in a dangerous

and tempting situation. You were entirely removed from the benefit of the ordinances of religion. I cannot but deplore that you should have been placed in such a situation—that such circumstances should have existed—and, above all, that you should have committed such a crime. But this commiseration must not interfere with the stern duty, which, as a judge, the law enforces on me—which is to order that you, and each of you, be removed to the place whence you came, and thence to a place of execution," &c.

It is plain that, up to this time, there was more faith placed in mere brute force and a system of severity and terror—in the strength of police machinery, the support of soldiery, the punishments of the chain-gang, the lash, and the gallows—than in the power of that merciful Word, at which the stubborn knee has been known ere now to bow, and the hardened heart to melt.

Let us now look, for a moment, at the actual interior of one of these chain-gangs, as described by an eye-witness before the Transportation Committee:

"I visited a chain-gang near Paramatta *on a Sunday*, for the purpose of administering religious consolation. When I came to the place, I found there a series of boxes, and, when the men were turned out, I was astonished to see the number that came out from each of these boxes. I could not have supposed it possible that they could have held such a number. *I found that they were locked up there usually during the whole of Sunday—likewise*

during the whole of the time from sunset to sunrise. On looking into one of these boxes, I saw that there was a ledge on each side, and that the men were piled upon the ledges, while others lay below upon the floor."

Mr. M. Martin writes much to the same effect, as follows :—"I saw and conversed with ten criminals in their condemned cells, on the eve of their execution. They had never heard the word of God preached since their childhood—some not even then. They had never entered a church or chapel in the colony, or attended a Sabbath service: and they had fled to the bush because their backs had been bared to the bone by repeated scourgings."

Norfolk Island.

In 1834, the Judge already referred to visited Norfolk Island. "The beauty of its hills and glens," says Judge Burton, "is remarkable, and the eye is charmed by scenery such as might well betoken an earthly Paradise. Nature has been profuse in her bounty; and thus the contrast is more painful, between the loveliness of the spot and the uses to which it is applied—between these beautiful works of the Creator which praise Him, and of men who praise Him not. No softening influence is here exerted, by the delicious beauty of the place, upon the seared and hardened hearts of its wretched inhabitants. Alone, in the dismal horror of the solitary cell—or mixed in the guarded ward with others

of a kindred nature, 'Evil men with men more evil,' —rotting and festering together, a seething mass of moral corruption—they have helped each other to make a hell of that which else might be a heaven," —and we as a nation have sat by and suffered it. "Little, indeed, has been done by the English Government, and, until lately, nothing," writes Judge Burton in 1840, "to render their captivity productive of that improvement in them, which should restore the Creator's image to their souls."

The island was first made a penal settlement of New South Wales in 1826. From the very foundation of the colony, as we have seen, it had been occupied by free settlers and their convict servants. These settlers, or their descendants, were not a little loth to be obliged to surrender their beautiful island, at the demand of the Government, which had sanctioned their first occupation of it, in order to make way for its new tenants. The inn of the settlement was turned into a gaol, its rooms and outhouses into dungeons—so insecure, however, that, besides the walls and barred windows, a chain cable had to be led through the rooms, to which the wretched inmates were ironed. In this gaol the most desperate prisoners were confined—those who had received sentence of death, which had been respited, and those whose fresh crimes, since coming even to Norfolk Island, were of a graver kind than the magistrates of the island could deal with, and required a higher judge to try them, with powers of life and death.

We are told by Judge Burton that "it was not till after the lapse of more than ten years, from the time of the island being made a penal settlement, that its wretched inmates received any of the reproofs, comforts, or instructions, of religion. They were, in the strongest sense of the term, souls cut off from the congregation of the Lord, and delivered over to Satan. What wonder, then, if they became, in temper, disposition, and habits, like to those, whom he leads captive at his will, and their place of torment like his!"

When the judge visited this island there were 130 prisoners in confinement, on a charge of conspiring to disarm and, if necessary, murder their guard of 120 soldiers, and then to effect their escape. The plot, well planned, and kept secret for more than three months, was attempted, and well nigh succeeded. For their share in this offence, fifty-five prisoners were tried as ringleaders. "In the course of these trials, eighty-seven different witnesses were examined—many of them five or six times over—during which they underwent a cross-examination by the prisoners, such as no advocate in the world could have conducted, and disclosed to the Court a picture of depravity, which, it may be safely asserted, no human judge ever had presented to him before. But, beyond all these, the unhappy prisoners themselves, when brought up for judgment, (and, of the number tried, thirty were convicted capitally and sentenced to death,) completed the abominable revelation, by communicating to the

judge, in earnest, deep, but calm, expostulation, the crimes committed there, upon which to be now particular would not be meet."

"One of them, a man, who displayed singular ability, and uncommon calmness and self-possession under circumstances so appalling to ordinary minds, represented it to be a 'hell upon earth.' And such assuredly it was, so far as the torment of that region is made up of the company of evil spirits, glorying in evil deeds. 'Let a man's heart,' he said, 'be what it will, when he comes here—his man's heart is taken from him, and there is given to him the heart of a beast.'

"He represented, and others followed him in the same course, that the crimes which had brought them there, were not of a kind which should condemn them to such a state—that many of them had been decent men, possessed of means of support, and had wives and families in the world; and these were sentenced to the same place of helplessness and despair with others, whose crimes were of the deepest die. One of them said, 'Sentence has been passed upon us before, and we thought we should have been executed, and prepared to die, and wish we had been executed then. It was no mercy to send us to this place. I do not ask life—I do not want to be spared, on condition of remaining here. Life is not worth having on such terms.' Another said, 'I pleaded guilty to the charge against me, because I knew I was guilty, and as the only expiation that I could make for my

offence, which, however, I committed only to get clear of this accursed place.' Another made a powerful appeal to the judge, founded upon some discrepancy in the evidence, asserting his own innocence, and that his person was mistaken. And, finding that appeal ineffectual, and that he was sentenced to die, he broke out into the most moving and passionate exclamations and entreaties, that he might not die without the benefit of confession. 'Oh, your honour,' he said, 'as you hope to be saved yourself, do not let me die without seeing my priest. I have been a very wicked man indeed; I have committed many other crimes for which I ought to die: but do not send me out of the world without seeing my priest.' Poor soul! he was a Roman Catholic: and, when, after this, he was taken away to his cell in miserable agony, he employed his time in embracing and beating himself upon a rude wooden figure of the cross, which a fellow-prisoner had made for him, wildly and incessantly pronouncing those brief cries for mercy, which such an instructor could teach him."

Another said, and his statement was perfectly true, "What is done, your honour, to make us better? Once a week we are drawn up in the square, opposite the Military Barracks, and the soldiers are drawn up in front of us, with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets; and a young officer then comes to the fence, and reads part of the service, and that takes, may be, about a quarter of an hour, and that is all the religion we see."

The wretched men were returned to their cells, and the judge withdrew to his sad meditation, the result of which was that he asserted for himself a power, which the law of the colony had not given him. He reprieved the whole of the prisoners, until he could lay their case before the colonial government, and, at least, obtain for those who were to suffer the last sentence of the law that spiritual help, which they so much needed in their hour of bitter distress. Eleven of the whole number finally suffered death—a Protestant and Roman Catholic clergyman having been sent down from Sydney to Norfolk Island, together with the warrants for their execution. "This was the first visitation they had ever had of the kind in their places of confinement. It was thankfully received, and the opportunities thus given of hearing religious advice and exhortation were embraced, not only by the unhappy persons under sentence of death, but by many others upon the island."

These clergymen were sent only for the occasion, and were again withdrawn from the island, as soon as the pressing necessity which brought them to it had passed away. No provision was made for the miserable state of those condemned to *live*.

Judge Burton, however, on leaving Sydney for the island in 1834, was "empowered and directed by the Government to make any alteration in the system of management and arrangement of the prisoners, which might appear to him necessary for their spiritual and temporal welfare." He

availed himself of this authority, so far as was possible under the circumstances. His first efforts were directed to the due observance of the Sabbath. And, as no ministers were provided, though he found 750 prisoners on the island, besides soldiers and civil officers, he selected as catechists *two convicts*,—one a Protestant, transported for forgery, who had once been chaplain of a man-of-war—the other a Roman Catholic, who had been educated for a priest. By these persons a separate and full service was performed twice every Sunday; and similar services were performed, at other places, for the troops and free people, by two laymen, selected for the purpose. Adult Sunday-schools were also formed, and met for an hour, morning and evening, being attended by from 200 to 250 prisoners of both persuasions. This led to the public assembling of many in their wards in barracks, for evening and morning prayers. They were at first, indeed, scoffed at by some of their companions, but were suffered at last to continue their practice without molestation.

This excellent judge lost no opportunity of pressing and reiterating his claims, on behalf of his unhappy fellow-creatures. And "at last his public remarks upon the subject, although they gave offence, were followed by the appointment of a Protestant chaplain in 1837, and a Roman Catholic chaplain in 1838." "But still," he writes in 1840, "there is no church, or other building, adapted for public worship, at the chief settlement, there being only a small and inconvenient room appropriated for that

purpose, and at the agricultural establishment at Longridge, about a mile and a half distant, a barn, which is sufficiently large, and much more commodious." Yet in July 1838, there were 1411 prisoners on the island, and the military force consisted of 6 officers and 170 men. The number of Protestant prisoners at the close of 1837 was 743, of whom 120 attended at the Sunday-school.

Van Diemen's Land.

This island received its first body of settlers in 1803, when a party of convicts was landed, and Hobart Town was established on the banks of the Derwent. In 1804 a new colony was sent from N. S. Wales, who founded George Town on the banks of the Tamar. These early settlers, like those at Sydney, experienced many hardships at first. But the soil was fertile, the live-stock rapidly multiplied, and, in a few years things wore a very promising appearance. About the year 1814, however, the practice of *bushranging* began. These bushrangers were mostly runaway convicts, together with other desperate characters, too easily to be found in a country, where the same neglect prevailed as in N. S. Wales, in regard to the provision of religious instruction for the wants of its increasing population. These ruffians, hardened in wickedness by the demoralizing process of the chain-gang and gaol, unchecked, as we have seen, by any influences of religion, were either let loose, or else escaped, from

their chains, to retaliate upon the peaceable inhabitants of the island in deeds of atrocious violence. Herding together in the bush, they burst, every now and then, from their secret lurking-places—often caves and dens of the earth, or the depths of the primeval forest—and changed, in a moment, the happy and flourishing homestead of the industrious settler into a scene of rapine and bloody massacre, accompanied oftentimes with deeds of wanton cruelty, or, if women were seized, of indescribable brutality. One of them, by name Michael Howe, was for years the terror of the whole island, ranging it in all directions, at the head of fourteen wretches like himself, and taking a diabolical delight in murdering all who came within his grasp. Between these bushrangers and the military many life-and-death struggles took place. Some were slain on the field—others died of their wounds—and numbers perished on the scaffold. In five years, 1822-7, more than 120 prisoners absconded from the penal settlement of Port Macquarie. With very few exceptions, the whole perished, being either hanged, or shot in the woods, or starved to death, or *killed and eaten by their comrades.*

In the year 1822, two convicts, named Pierce and Greenhill, made off with six others. After about ten days travelling in the woods, being in want of food, these two agreed to murder one of their comrades (Dalton), and eat him. Greenhill slew the victim with an axe, and the body was consumed by the whole party. A few days after this, the

same monster, Greenhill, with the concurrence of the others, butchered another comrade (Bodenham), and he too was devoured. The next sufferer, John Mather, seeing that he was doomed, begged and obtained life for half-an-hour, and kneeled down to pray—after which he also underwent the fate of the others.

The party was now reduced to three, by the death of these and the defection of two others, who, after seeing the murder of poor Mather, returned at once to Port Macquarie, surrendered themselves to the authorities, and died of exhaustion and misery within a few days. Travers, the weakest of these three, was soon sacrificed to satisfy the greedy cravings of his companions. Part of his body was eaten, and the rest dried and divided between the two wretches. They had reached by this time a beautiful country, abounding with the kangaroo and emu; but these it was beyond their skill to catch. The pair of cannibals walked on, eyeing each other with a glare of mutual distrust and ferocity, each expecting that the other was watching for his opportunity to complete the frightful massacre. Pierce afterwards declared that he was haunted by the words of one of his dead comrades, who said that "Greenhill would kill his father, rather than fast one day." Afraid, as he says, to sleep before him, or to walk one step in advance, he kept on by his side, placing the axe, which he had in his possession, under his head at night, and carrying it on his shoulder in the day-time. Such, at least, is the

statement made by himself in his confession. At last Greenhill fell, either by accident or fatigue. Pierce instantly sprung upon him, slew him, and travelled on, bearing with him the thigh and arm of his late associate.

This monster lived to perpetrate other enormities: at length, he was captured, tried, confessed his crimes, and was executed.

To pass now from penal settlements to penal systems.

The Assignment System.

Up to the year 1838 the system of *assignment* was in force in the penal colonies. All male and female convicts, on their arrival in the colony, were either assigned at once as servants to individuals, or, if there was no demand for them, were kept in barracks, at the cost of the Crown, and employed in public works, until masters applied for them. The assigned were required to live under the roof of their employers—received no wages—were not allowed to work for themselves, be out at night, or go anywhere without a pass—and might be flogged, or imprisoned, on complaint of their masters, who were bound to provide them with clothes and food. The convicts unassigned were divided into six classes, according to their character and conduct. The first might work for themselves on Saturdays, and might also sleep out of barracks—the second had the Saturday at their own disposal, but were not per-

mitted to sleep out—the third had the afternoon of Saturday—the fourth were worked *in irons*—the fifth, besides being worked in irons, were kept entirely separate from the other prisoners—the sixth were sent to the penal settlements, and employed in works of the severest description. A prisoner might ascend or descend through all these six classes; but good behaviour would procure him, after a certain number of years, a *ticket-of-leave*, that is, a license to work for himself as a free man, on condition of appearing at an annual muster, and not leaving the colony until the term of his sentence had expired. Further, a free pardon was granted, after continued good behaviour, to one transported for fourteen years, after that *two-thirds* of his time had elapsed, and, to one for life, at the end of twelve years.

Such was the old system, which had been in operation for half a century, and, upon the whole, had not worked amiss in its effect upon the convicts—of whom many had been reclaimed, enabled to commence a new course, and ultimately to become good citizens, and the founders of some most respectable families in the colony. But herein lay one very grave objection to it, especially in later years, when the comforts of life had been so abundantly multiplied around them, and the terrors of the long and dangerous voyage to Botany Bay had been almost exploded. There was an actual encouragement to crime in the ease with which the convict went through (if he pleased) his term of punishment, and took his place among the settlers in his adopted

country—often among the richest and most influential of them.

Besides this, there was a grievous inequality in this mode of punishment. For, though the way to the ultimate recovery of liberty, and even to affluence, was open to all, yet the pains of servitude, and the chances of continuing in it, were greater or less, according to the character of the master. Some masters were mild and merciful in their treatment of their servants, and did their best to help them in endeavouring to return to the position in society which their crimes had forfeited. In other cases, where the family of the convict was respectable, some member of it would follow the criminal to the colony, and obtain him as an assigned servant. In one notorious instance of this kind, where a man had been transported for a bank-robbery, and the proceeds of the robbery were not recovered, his wife soon joined him, with the whole of the plunder, applied for him as a servant, and "their fortunes were made." But it too frequently happened, that the master was a merciless tyrant, and, instead of correcting their natural faults by his example and influence, only communicated his own vices, or else provoked them to acts of disobedience, by which they forfeited all hope of shortening their convict career, and became hardened in guilt.

These serious objections being found to lie against the old system of *assignment*, certain changes were introduced by Lord Glenelg in 1838, of which the principal were the following, (i) that no convicts

should in future be assigned as *domestic* servants, or be employed for mere purposes of luxury, (ii) that all should be first coerced in *labour-gangs*.

Thus was the first step taken by the British Government in applying a remedy to the recognised defects of the existing convict system. Something, however, was yet wanting: and there is a passage in a despatch in 1839, of the then Lieut.-Governor, which shows strikingly the improved state of opinion of those in office in the colony, upon the point of most importance in reference to the whole matter. "I am convinced," he writes, "that, were £2000 per annum expended by her Majesty's Government, in supporting ten pious and zealous ministers, to be employed in the interior of this colony, in preaching daily, not in churches, but to the *convicts in the houses of the settlers*, the benefit to be derived from such a measure would be very great."

Lord Stanley's Probation System.

In 1842, the second step was taken, in the improvement of the convict system, by Lord Stanley, who, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, communicated to the Governor (the lamented Franklin) the system approved by Sir Robert Peel's Government, and which is commonly called the *probation system*. Convicts, under this mode of treatment, were made to pass through five distinct stages (the first, however, only in very aggravated cases); viz., (i) Detention at Norfolk Island, (ii) Probation-

gang, (iii) Probation-pass, (iv) Ticket-of-leave, (v) Pardon.

The pass-holders might hire themselves out in private service. But these were divided into three classes, according to their previous conduct. The lowest had to pay in all their wages, and the second class a third of their earnings, to an agent of Government: the third class were allowed to retain their wages. The money thus paid in might be forfeited by any misconduct, which should throw the depositor back into the probation-gang. Otherwise, it would be refunded to him, when he obtained his ticket-of-leave, which he might do, by good behaviour, at the end of half his time, the term for life being reckoned as 24 years. Having attained all this, however, he was still liable, upon misconduct, to be returned to the stage of a pass-holder or probationer. *Each probation-gang was to have a clergyman or schoolmaster attached.* The convicts were to be taught to read and write, and religious instruction was to be carefully given.

The effect aimed at in this system was the imposition of a very formidable punishment *at first*, which should be gradually relaxed with the lapse of time. The probation-gangs were the pivot of the system, inasmuch as all, while passing through them, would be, it was supposed, under close superintendence, and within the reach of moral and religious influences. To this stage the refractory might be sent back at any time—a punishment most formidable, which was expected to prove most effective.

The result, however, of the trial given to this system was, complete disappointment. The probation-gangs were found to be the nurseries of vice, instead of the correctors of it. Men, who had been passed into them, fresh from gaols in England, and the crowded confinement of the convict ship, were little likely to benefit each other by the close contact of daily labour. But the following passage, from a convict's letter, will best illustrate the evils of the probation-system:—

"A new scene in life has just begun with me. For two years and upwards I have been serving under probation, and a trying time I found it: but, thank God, I can now breathe a purer air, and can lift up my head (as far as a convict can) once more, being just escaped from the dreadful society of the probation-gang.

"On Jan. 14, 1843, we arrived here, and in a few days were separated, and most of us sent into the interior to our appointed stations. Previously to our dispersion, we had an opportunity of assembling for reading the Scriptures and prayer, as we had been wont to do on board the ship. We all lodged in one poor sorry outhouse next the barracks, the first night we spent on shore in Van Diemen's Land. My dear companions were asked if they would unite in prayer once more together, most likely for the last time—a proposal to which they all agreed, without one dissentient voice; and earnest were the prayers, and deep the feeling, on behalf of our kind friend and patron (Dr. Browning) we were about to part with, and fervently, too, we sought Divine wisdom and grace, to guide and bless us in all our future steps.

"The time soon came for us to be marched off. Myself, and five more shipmates, with twenty old hands, were yoked to carts, loaded with picks and other heavy goods. An overseer took the command, and, at the well-known sound 'Go on!' off we started, not knowing whither: all we knew was that we were going to form a new station fifty miles up the country. We had not proceeded many miles before I began to feel exhausted; for, just

stepping on shore after a long voyage, you may suppose I was unfit for hard travelling; added to this, my health was but delicate. But journey on we *must*, up rugged hills, beneath a scorching sun, and amidst the hellish oaths and imprecations of our new companions. My ears were unaccustomed to such wicked words as proceeded from their lips. One particular oath, the first time I heard it uttered, made me shudder, and that was from a poor grey-headed man, when oppressed with dragging those heavy carts. It is too awful and too grossly blasphemous to admit of being written. Its purport was a wish that he might die that moment, if he moved another step; but the Lord had mercy on him, and did not grant his request, for he still moved on. Surely, I thought, I shall never hear such language again. But in this I was greatly mistaken; for it is common, awfully common, to hear prisoners, and officers too, swear the same oath.

"We arrived at ——, and were put within the prison: and a sad night I spent, as to outward circumstances. My friend and shipmate, who was with me on board the hulk, desirous of doing good, proposed to read a chapter from 'God's Word:' but oh! I shall never forget the dreadful cry they set up. 'You old hypocrite! there 's no God in Van Diemen's Land, nor ever shall be!' were the blasphemous words vociferated. Not till then did I find banishment such a heavy chastisement. To be obliged to hear and see what has passed before me, the last two years, is a severe and heart-rending affliction.

"Morning came, and we pursued our journey. We had to traverse the bush, with scarcely a track to guide us. Here and there we saw a tent, or met a settler. The country became more rugged; but we were compelled to drag and labour on, through a very hot day, until we were nearly exhausted. Night came on; and truly thankful I was to lie down upon the ground, and obtain a little repose. We encamped in the bush, with no other shelter but God's own beautiful sky, bespangled with stars. Here we found water—a great blessing to us, for we were parched with thirst, from the want of water during the day. Next day, on we went, and, early in the evening, we arrived at the spot to which we were ordered. I have been particular in describing this journey, for the circumstances connected with it made a powerful impression on my mind. Never did I see beings sunk so low. Here I beheld the fearful effects of the fall. The blasphemous

expressions, respecting the Holy Comforter, produced horror in my mind for the moment; but I hope they also led me more earnestly to implore His most gracious presence and power in my own soul.

"At ——, we commenced our work. Then began the course of government and discipline to which I have been subjected. Gangs marched to the station as it enlarged, from ——, and ——, and other Second-Sentence stations. These men were supposed to have been reformed: but, alas! their conduct soon evinced that the treatment they had received was calculated to harden, rather than to soften, their moral feeling. They soon broke out. Officers commenced their work, bringing many of them to trial for various offences. The 'triangle' was erected; the horrid 'cat' I saw, with grief and pain, flourished about the station by a fellow-prisoner, appointed *flagellator*. It was soon laid upon the backs of the unhappy convicts. Then my sorows began. I was disappointed that a milder system was not in operation. From what I conceived *probation* to be, I expected that men would have been *instructed* and *drawn*, not *driven—encouraged*, not at once *coerced*.

"I should have told you that for three or four months we were tolerably comfortable, owing to the influence of a pious visiting magistrate, who was over us during that brief period, and paid great attention to our spiritual interests, and instructed us, and led our worship on most Sabbaths: but his stay was short. There was no flogging during his time: but he would come and talk with us, as a tender father to his children, and encourage us, in every possible way, in the pursuit of useful knowledge. After he had left us the scene changed."

The above extracts show that the wishes and intentions of the Home Government were by no means carried out in the distant colony, and at the same time sufficiently indicate the chief causes of the failure of Lord Stanley's plan. These were the following: the inadequate and unsuitable accommodation for the prisoners at night, the employment of them in masses in the bush in the primary stage,

the improper character of the overseers of the gangs, for want of better men, and the absence of every thing like moral training and *preparation for transportation.* The convict passed in general from the debaucheries of a profligate life into the common gaol, from thence into the convict-ship, and finally, into the probation gang, growing worse and worse at every stage. Besides all which, the very distance at which the probation was carried on, so completely removed from the eye of the Home Government and from the salutary influence of public opinion, was sure to leave the way open to many abuses, to which no remedy could be applied, except after wearisome delays and difficulties, and then too late to counteract the evil.

Lord Grey's Probation System.

In the general principles of this and the preceding plan, there was no difference. A succession of probationary stages, bearing proportion to the duration of the original sentences, and gradually advancing the well-conducted through the stages of ticket-of-leave and conditional pardon to absolute freedom, is the leading feature of both. In the mode of working them out were some points of difference. Instead of congregating the convicts in masses in the first stage, without any other distinction of character than that which the law defines, separate confinement was substituted; and both stages instead of being passed in Van Diemen's Land, were to take

place at home, under the immediate inspection of Government.

The duration of the first stage of discipline in separate confinement was fixed at from about nine to eighteen months, according to length of sentence and other circumstances. A badly-conducted prisoner might have it protracted. He might also be returned to it, to begin his course of probation again. To carry out this stage of discipline there were sufficiently ample facilities in Millbank, Wakefield, Pentonville, Reading, and other prisons in England, built after the model of Pentonville, available to Government, upon defraying the expenses of the convicts' maintenance, &c.*

The second stage of discipline was penal labour upon public works.

Many entertained, what appeared to me, the unreasonable fear that men really reformed in separation would turn bad again in association. For my own part I felt persuaded, if the same means were used to keep them from falling which were first honoured of God in reclaiming them, the faithful and affectionate ministration of his Holy Word, fair and considerate treatment by their officers, and a fair amount of the stimulus of hope, the good character of the convict would not be deteriorated. I thought it would be neither just nor wise, however, to test the religious profession of men, under such circumstances, by the

* For the names of the prisons so used and the number of convicts in England, see paper in Appendix.

highest standard, and to condemn a man for a word, an ebullition of temper, or the infringement of a rule, at once as a hypocrite. This is constantly done, and chiefly by persons who are themselves irreligious altogether. Such is not the teaching of our divine religion. "*Brethren*," said St. Paul, "if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual *restore such an one in the spirit of meekness*, considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted."

There are prison offences, indeed, which show plainly enough that the reported reformation of a man is nothing better than gross self-deception, if not hypocrisy. What then? Surely, it is better that this discovery should be made in time, and the delusive expectation dispelled, than to let him free upon the world again before the necessity, a really bad man; better, for the convict himself—better unquestionably for society. A reformation which will not stand the test of association, *where it has more safeguards and fewer temptations than in the world at large, is manifestly not of the least value.*

But the associated labour of convicts had been already tried, it was said, with the most disastrous results. This was undoubtedly true; but there were causes enough, as we have seen, for that failure, besides the association itself.

"I regret to state my impression," says Mr. Latrobe, acting Governor of Van Diemen's Land in 1846-7—"that, after all the stress laid upon the necessity of providing adequately for the religious and moral instruction of the convicts under the

new system, in no particular has the difficulty of attaining the object been more glaringly apparent, both in number and in general character and qualifications; the class of men whose services were at command were not of the stamp that must be employed, if a reasonable hope of success were to be indulged."

"It further appeared to me," he writes, "that the probation system, whether sound in principle or not, had not a fair trial, and could never have a fair trial in this distant colony."

It does not require colonial experience to be assured of this. In a complicated system such as that was, supposing it carried out ever so discreetly and zealously, difficulties, never provided for, would continually be starting up; little in themselves, perhaps, if promptly met, but fraught with disastrous consequences to discipline and to morals, if neglected or postponed for any considerable time, which yet was generally inevitable. Norfolk Island was nearly 1000 miles from the seat of colonial government; the communication from the bush to Hobart Town even was, necessarily, very slow; and when the reports did reach head-quarters in the colony, the person invested with strictly-defined authority would naturally shrink from undertaking new responsibilities, and the more especially in a country where everything assumed a party complexion, and was sure to be misrepresented at home by some one. The matter, therefore, would be sent home for the decision of the supreme Government;

and if the executive had not in the mean time changed hands, or if no more important business was being pressed upon it, the ultimatum would come back in the course of perhaps eighteen months; a doubtful remedy, at any period, but when it arrived, wholly unsuitable, or calculated to aggravate the disease.

Nor was there the check upon the growth of irregularities and demoralization *which the presence of an enlightened and Christian public interposes.* Here and there only, at the penal stations, occurred any exception, and Norfolk Island was open only to the officials of Government. Yet, of all things, the *treatment of those who have lost their liberty should be most accessible to such observation and influence.* Man is naturally a tyrant over his species, and the lower in feeling, if not in education and birth, the officer is, in general, the greater. The exercise of petty power by persons of this kind, brutalizes further their own minds, irritates the feelings of the prisoner, and renders almost every effort to communicate favourable impressions to the heart of the oppressed abortive. If any doubt the value of such impartial inspection, let them read the life of Howard, when, moved by the generous and self-devoted spirit of a pure religion, he visited the prisons of Europe, and exposed to public view their horrible condition; let them consider what Newgate and every convict-ship was, before Elizabeth Fry and others, moved by the same spirit, and animated by the example of that great man, undertook to

carry the offers of mercy, in the accents of Christian sympathy, to their unhappy inmates. The probation scheme of Earl Grey secured all those helps. The best officers, from the highest to the lowest, could be selected, or, if found unfit, immediately removed. The eye of Government could personally survey the whole, and apply to discovered evils a prompt and efficient remedy; Members of Parliament, and persons high in the estimation of their country, had every opportunity to observe the working of the plan, and to make public the result of their observation. Measures were taken to secure absolute separation, moreover, during the night, for every man worked in association.

To assist in carrying out this part of the plan, a penal establishment was formed in the Isle of Portland, near Weymouth. 1200 convicts, who have passed through separate confinement, are here now employed in the construction of a harbour of refuge on that part of the coast; a work long called for as confessedly of great public utility, but which, it is obvious, would not have been undertaken if free labour were exclusively to be engaged. Another has since been opened in Dartmoor for invalid and less able-bodied convicts, for about the same number.

Also, a prison, with separate cells, for the convicts employed at Portsmouth, and preparations for another in Woolwich, are in progress. The same it is hoped, ere long, will be the case in Bermuda and Gibraltar. In fact, it has long been felt by Government to be a matter of great importance to carry

out these improvements as thoroughly and as expeditiously as possible. The "hulks" originated in the time of the war, from the difficulty of carrying out the sentence of transportation, and the greater value then of convict labour at home. In the best hands they have proved to be indifferent prisons. In the old days of neglect they became distinguished amongst the worst.

A few years back a thorough reform of these establishments was however instituted by Secretary Sir George Grey, and committed to the management of a gentleman of high character and experience, Herbert P. Voules, Esq., now one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Prisons. At the same time, a clergyman of devoted Christian character, to take charge of the convicts, was selected with special care by the Secretary of State himself; schoolmasters were added, books for the moral and religious improvement of the prisoners supplied, officers of unfit character displaced, each class or "bay" properly lighted, every hammock fully exposed to view, a vigilant inspection kept up during the night; and in a space where 600 or 700 men used to be berthed, not more than 450 were allowed.

Looking at the hulks as they were, and the obstacles which lay in the way of their improvement, and especially the detention of so many convicts of the old stamp,—men grown inveterate in vicious habits, who could not be disposed of otherwise, consistently with good faith, or the demands of justice,—I am astonished to observe how much

good was, and since has been, effected by those means.

Thus it was not long before it was reported by the chaplain at Woolwich :—

"There have been three services each Lord's Day —one in each ship; all the men attend, with the exception of those of a religious persuasion differing from the Church of England, and their attention and devout behaviour have been most gratifying to myself, as well as the subject of remark to others who have casually witnessed it.

"The holy sacrament has been solemnized quarterly; the number of communicants has been gradually increasing up to 103; and I may add that the conduct of these communicants has been most consistent; and among these are four who have been baptized within the last year, at their own express desire. The Wednesday and Thursday evening services have been continued as usual.

"At the hospital there have been a daily service and lecture. The sick who are able, gather round the upper and lower decks, joining in the services with earnestness, and often by the sounds of praise soothing the sick, who, confined to their beds, can follow the words they are singing from their books. So much have they begun to value religious instruction, that they have applied to the mate of the hospital for leave to have a Bible and hymn class in the evenings among those who can leave their beds."

The number of communicants, about 100 in 1000

prisoners, shows a wonderfully altered state of things, where ten under the old *régime* would be considered a large number. And it will be observed that this change is accompanied by accounts of general improved good conduct and industry.

Similar reports were made to the Directors from the hulks at Portsmouth.

Portsmouth Convict Prison.

This prison was opened in the spring of 1852, and given in charge to Captain Knight, formerly Governor of Portland prison; an officer of well-tried qualifications for the most difficult posts. At the close of the year the Directors were able to say,—

"We cannot conclude this Report without expressing great satisfaction at the successful result of the first distinct experiment of removing convicts in a body from the hulks into a prison, which allowed of their being separated from each other at night and at meals, and in which the authorities were provided with the necessary means of enforcing a higher degree of discipline. The progressive improvement visible in the conduct of these men under the superior means of discipline afforded by the prison was very remarkable, and the degree of order, regularity, and respectful submission to discipline, that now prevail both inside the prison, and also on the public works, is a satisfactory proof, if any could have been wanting, of the disadvantage of using hulks as places of confinement for convicts, when

the object is, not only to enforce the sentence of the law, but to maintain strict discipline, promote habits of industry, and encourage every effort at moral improvement among the prisoners.

The following results are noticed by Captain Knight in his Report :—

"Out of 1376 prisoners who have been confined in this prison, 955 have not committed the slightest breach of rules, and 66 more have committed only *one slight offence;* so, in fact, 1021 have not been guilty of any actual misconduct, and thus everything like misconduct has been confined to the remaining 355. It may be further observed, that a very considerable proportion of offences are attributable to the repeated misconduct of a few almost incorrigible individuals ; thus, for instance, 134 offences have been committed by 13 prisoners. (Corporal punishment was inflicted on *four men.*)

About 152 offences (viz. "having possession of money, tobacco, and other prohibited articles," have been caused solely by the convicts being brought in close contact daily with labourers, sailors, &c., and many more are indirectly traceable to the same cause; even persons of apparently higher position occasionally assist the convicts to commit breaches of discipline. I will give an instance of this kind. A person passing a party of convicts at work on Southsea Common threw one of them some money, which he picked up unobserved by his officer, but immediately and voluntarily gave it up.

Taking into consideration the trials and tempta-

tions to which the convicts in this prison are constantly exposed, their general regularity and exemplary conduct have far exceeded my expectations, and convince me that their labour might be made still more generally useful and profitable, and be extended to situations and under circumstances heretofore never thought of.

Various instances might be given in proof of the comparatively favourable moral condition of the convicts. The following may not be considered altogether out of place:—

Register 692 found a sovereign when at work in the dockyard, picked it up unobserved by the officer in charge of his party or by the other convicts.

Register — in like manner also found a half-sovereign in the Royal Clarence Yard.

Register 476 found, buried in the mud of one of the moats, when employed with other convicts in cleaning the same, a glazier's diamond, value about £1.

Register 576 likewise found a bunch of gold seals and lockets on Southsea Common.

These articles were all voluntarily given up, and have been restored to the lawful owners.

Dartmoor Prison.

This prison was partially opened in 1850, a reconstruction of the old war prison, so long happily untenanted for its original purpose. Here were more, at one time, than 9000 prisoners of war. The

impression on one's mind is a very sad one, when he feels the chill blasts of that elevated spot, and thinks of the warm regions from which so many of those poor foreigners came. The mortality is said to have been very great amongst them. This is stated to have been the result not only of the climate, but of the want of proper supplies from their own government, and a total recklessness of living; for, being allowed wages for work, and having it in their power to purchase spirits, they consumed it largely, instead of procuring suitable clothing and nourishment.

Over the ancient gate, built of large primeval granite blocks, is the inscription—

"PARCERE SUBJECTIS,"

a good motto, but expressive of the intentions of the British Government rather than of the results. Those prisoners of war built the church in Princes' Town, the barracks for the soldiery, the officers' quarters, and one-fourth or more of the prison itself. The climate suits well the constitution of Englishmen in general. Nowhere can be seen more health and vigour in adults or children. I spent more than a week in a very indifferent inn, designated the *Dutchy Hotel*, in Princes' Town, to the great benefit of my health, although the weather was bad enough to remind one of the lines,—

"The people all within this clime
Are frozen in the winter time.

Or drowned with snow or rain ;
And when the summer is begun,
They lie like silkworms in the sun,
And come to life again."—*Rowe's "Dartmoor."*

I never saw any ordinary set of labourers work more heartily than the convicts sent to refit this prison. This may be accounted for in part, perhaps, because they were employed at their own trades, smiths, carpenters, farm labourers, &c. ; partly, because they had not the corrupting influence of the old style of convicts before them, as at the hulks; but chiefly, as I believe, because they had passed through prisons on the separate plan, where they had been religiously instructed, and not kept over long. An excellent crop of flax was gathered on the farm of the prison, the first autumn. In the course of a few years, it may safely be anticipated, the benefits of this establishment will be felt for many miles beyond the prison bounds, in the stimulus given to industry thereby in the neighbourhood, and the example of what may be effected in reclaiming that now desolate-looking and barren region.

Captain Gambier, the Governor, in his Report for 1852, furnishes the following interesting information :—

"Tradesmen and artisans have been employed as much as practicable at their respective trades, in the repairing of buildings, and in completing the conversion of the old war prisons, erecting and fitting up farm-buildings, tool-sheds, &c., and in the con-

struction of a large range of prisoners' baths; others in repairing roads; a large number in agricultural operations; several gangs in cutting peat; during the proper season, a part of them, mixed with invalids and light-labour men, in drying, turning, and stacking it. This is then used as fuel for the service of the prison, and likewise for making gas, thus effecting a very considerable saving in the articles of fuel and light. The invalids, of whom there is a large body here, are employed at light labour, also as tailors and shoemakers.

"I have likewise, under your sanction, selected men of exemplary character, with short sentences, who have performed a large portion of their terms of punishment, and whose crimes were not heinous ones, to be employed on 'special service.' This consists in looking after the cows, horses, pigs, &c.; driving carts, and carrying tools to the prison for repair, from their respective gangs, &c.; whilst others have been employed at their trades.

"These men are not under the charge of any particular officer. Their dress is a distinctive one, consisting of a *blue* jacket, waistcoat, and trowsers, instead of the usual *brown* or *drab* clothing worn by the other convicts. Those who are allowed the privilege of this special employment *outside* the walls of the prison, have a *red cloth collar* attached to their jackets, and are allowed to pass out through the gates to their respective occupations (during working hours) without being in charge of an

officer. Those *not* having the red collar are only allowed the privileges attached to the distinctive dress *inside* the prison walls, and are therefore never allowed to pass the gates, except in charge of an officer. The distinctiveness of this clothing acts as a guidance to the officers and military sentries, who would otherwise immediately stop any convict who was not in charge of an officer.

"I have found, Sir, this plan of yours, in employing these men as above detailed, to answer most admirably, and I rejoice to state that I have had no case of misconduct on their part. They highly value the privilege, and eagerly seek for it, and are very proud of the confidence placed in them. The number thus employed now amounts to 53; viz., 18 *outside* and 35 *inside* the prison walls.

"There have been but *two instances of corporal punishment* during the last twelve months. The minor punishments have been bread and water, not exceeding seven days (and this number of days very rare), except when ordered by a director, for serious offences, the usual punishments being from one to three days bread and water, or the loss of a meal, removal to a lower class, &c. These punishments have been confined to 445 convicts out of 1695: and the reports to 600, the rest not having a report against them."

Portland Breakwater and Prison.

The circumstances connected with laying the

foundation stone of the great Breakwater, near Weymouth, for which the convicts now quarry stones from the rocky peninsula called Portland Isle, on the 25th of July, 1849, will long be remembered in that locality.

All the local papers describing the events of that day were bought up with extraordinary avidity. New and enlarged editions were required to meet the demand.

The national advantages of the projected Breakwater are:—it will afford ample protection, and be accessible at all times, and in all weathers, to vessels of any size, and in immense numbers, as there will be made a secure harbour, with deep water, for a space of four square miles in extent. From mid channel in fine clear weather, a vessel can command a sight of Cape la Hogue and Alderney, on the French side, and of Portland and the Isle of Wight, on the English. A fleet here stationed would have an uncontrolled sweep of the English Channel.

A great local advantage will be the shelter afforded to Weymouth, to which there is annually much damage done by south and south-east gales. In 1825, the sea was driven with such fury into the bay, that it destroyed the Pier at the entrance of Weymouth Harbour and the greater part of the Esplanade-wall, incurring an expenditure of several thousand pounds to replace it. The Breakwater would have prevented this loss, and also that of several vessels and lives at the same time.

A greater advantage is the facility it will offer for

carrying on the Portland stone trade, which, during the prevalence of easterly winds, is now seriously impeded, and frequently totally suspended. The shelter that will be afforded by the Breakwater will enable vessels to load alongside a quay, and render it unnecessary to employ lighters. The average quantity of stone now annually shipped is between 30,000 and 40,000 tons. This will doubtless be considerably increased, when there are greater facilities for its shipment.

Though commonly called an island, Portland is in fact a peninsula, being united to the main land by a high bank of shingle, nearly ten miles in length, known as the "Chesil Bank," composed of pebbles which graduate off from the Portland end, where they are of considerable size, growing smaller by degrees, until near Abbotsbury they are less than sparrows' eggs, and at Bridport they become a coarse sand. So gradually does the size decrease, that smugglers could, in the darkest night, tell whereabouts they were by the size of the pebbles.

The island is one immense rock of stone, the best quality of which, a good freestone, is greatly prized for building purposes,—St. Paul's Cathedral, Blackfriars and Westminster Bridges, the new Royal Exchange, and many other public buildings, being erected with it. The stone was first brought into repute in the time of James I., by whose architects it was employed in the erection of the Banqueting House at Whitehall. It is got out of the quar-

ries of different sizes, from five or six tons' weight.*

To inaugurate this great work, Prince Albert attended in person. His Royal Highness was followed in his whole course through Dorsetshire by the most enthusiastic manifestations of loyalty to the Queen, and attachment to his own person; and having received addresses from various public bodies in Dorchester, Weymouth, and Portland, and replied to them in his wonted felicitous manner, the ceremony of laying the foundation stone was proceeded with; the Rev. D. Hogarth, Rector of Portland, having offered the following prayer to the Most High :—

"O Lord our Saviour, Thou art our keeper; Thou art the keeper of England; Thou hast kept us in time past, we beseech Thee to keep us in time coming. Thou hast heretofore kept us in peace, and preserved us from foreign invasion. It is Thou who hast kept us. Thou hast made this a great nation; but it is Thy power which kept us, not our own wisdom. We disown all trust in an arm of flesh; our trust is in Thee alone. God of our fathers, keep us, their children, we entreat Thee.

"Bless this great work; make it a means of protecting our navy, and a protection to our commerce.

"Bless our gracious Sovereign Queen VICTORIA; keep her, we beseech Thee, from all evil. Give her

* In the process of excavation, occasionally Roman antiquities are met with, as well as geological specimens.

peace from outward foes; give her inward peace, through the blood of her Redeemer.

"Bless Her Royal Consort, Prince ALBERT; keep him in all his outgoings and incomings. Let him abide in peace, resting only on the merits of a crucified Redeemer. Bless the members of the Royal Family and their children; make them all thine by adoption and grace. Amen."

The Lord's Prayer and Benediction followed.

After this beautiful prayer, uttered from the heart, by one of the Lord's most faithful ministers, the ceremony was proceeded with.

The Prince then made a few remarks, which we regret we were unable to hear, and all being clear, the stone was ordered by the Prince to be dropped, and it fell to its resting place with a tremendous splash, amidst the roar of artillery, and three cheers for the Queen. The band immediately struck up Rule Britannia, and some loads of loose stone were deposited around the foundation stone.

The Royal party then minutely inspected the prison and all its accompaniments, His Royal Highness frequently making particular inquiries respecting the various matters falling under his notice, Colonel Jebb, and Captain Whitty, then Governor, affording him every information.

On that occasion the Prince was pleased to present a Bible and Prayer-Book, for the use of the chapel, in which he wrote the following sentence:—

"PRESENTED TO THE CHAPEL OF THE CONVICTS AT PORTLAND, AS A TOKEN OF INTEREST, AND IN HOPE OF THEIR AMENDMENT.—ALBERT."

I had on this occasion the honour of presenting an address to His Royal Highness (in place of the chaplain, who was unwell), which was graciously received.

So far this great undertaking has progressed most favourably, and the fears of those who anticipated disastrous consequences to the moral and religious improvement of the convict have proved to be groundless.

The testimony of Capt. Whitty (to whose ability, zeal, and efficient support of the department of religion, much of the success is attributed), and the Rev. Mr. Moran, then the chaplain, is the same.

"The subdued, improved, and disciplined state in which the convicts generally arrive at Portland," reports the Governor to Colonel Jebb, "from the stage of separate confinement, appears to be an admirable preparative for their transfer to the greater degree of freedom unavoidable on public works. Those convicts who have been for a considerable time at Portland, have not usually indicated any falling-off in morals or conduct, but, on the contrary, several instances have occurred in which men, on whose conduct the comparative degree of liberty here alluded to appeared to have at first an unfavourable effect, have afterwards become orderly and industrious, and content to work their way

cheerfully to the prospective advantages held out to convicts of that character.

"In most cases I believe that the convicts have lost the feeling, too prevalent amongst criminals (and while it lasts constituting a great bar to their reformation), that all officials or authorities who enforce the laws must naturally be their enemies.

"Under the present system also they have *hope*, without which element in their treatment I am satisfied that no one else can have hope for them. They are remarkably alive and submissive to treatment guided by good faith and impartiality; and, with good officers to administer the system with firmness and humanity, I see no reason whatever to doubt of its successful result."

"I have now had every opportunity," says the chaplain, "of observing the working of that system with close attention, and further experience has confirmed the favourable opinion I had been led to entertain of it. The effects of the discipline have been such as may well encourage the Government to persevere in the course they have entered on.

"It appears to me to be clearly established, that, under certain conditions, convicts may be employed on public works with great advantage. In order, however, to secure these results, I consider it ESSENTIAL that the two following particulars should still continue to be regarded as part of the system:—

"1st. It is of the greatest importance that all those men who are sent into association on public

works, should have previously undergone a certain period of probation in *separate confinement*.

"2nd. That in both periods of probation, strict discipline be combined with the inculcation of sound religious and moral principles. I know you are fully sensible of this; nor is it too much to affirm, that the great success which has already attended the efforts made on behalf of 'England's outcasts,' is to be ascribed, under God, to the prominence which has been given by the Government to the moral and religious training of the prisoners. The Gospel of Christ is the great remedy which has been revealed from heaven for the recovery of guilty and polluted man to the favour and to the image of God; and just in proportion as that Gospel is set forth without *addition* and without *reserve*, in the same proportion may we expect a blessing to attend our labours.

"It may be safely affirmed that the moral and religious condition of the prisoners has, on the whole, been very satisfactory. Those prisoners who came here with good characters have, with few exceptions, maintained their standing; and a very considerable number may be said to have greatly improved.

"Let it, however, be borne in mind, that orderly conduct and obedience to prison rules here is a much higher test than it is in separate confinement, because the temptations are much greater, and the restraints necessarily fewer. The association of the prisoners who are engaged early and late in the

labour of the prison or in the quarries, although under inspection and control, is assimilated to that of ordinary life; and I feel no doubt that it would prove a valuable training for their future conduct in the colonies. The Lord's Supper has been administered several times during the past year. We have had about 150 communicants each time. The candidates are carefully instructed each time before the Lord's Supper is administered."

Those documents fully bear out the anticipations which I ventured to make in a paper presented to the "Commissioners of Pentonville Prison," in 1847, when such an opinion was by no means an acceptable one to most of the acting members of the Board. The following judgment, however, from one of high authority on penal questions, who thought differently at the beginning, must be considered of far more value, and certainly reflects credit on the candour of the writer.

"The convict, having passed the appointed term in separate confinement," says Mr. Field, in his Life of Howard, "is removed to the establishment in Portland Island (or, it may be, when suitable arrangements are made, to one of our dockyards), to labour in the formation of the Harbour of Refuge, or on some public work. There, although he is still under religious instruction and very judicious superintendence, his principles and the reality of his reformation are subjected to a severe test. He is associated with other convicts, and, as it cannot be supposed that all have been reclaimed, he meets

with many temptations. The opinions expressed on this plan before the Select Committee of the House of Lords, previously to its operation, by many of the learned judges of the land, and by most persons acquainted with penal discipline, were very decidedly adverse to its adoption. *The writer himself, when questioned upon the subject, deprecated the proposal in strong terms. He is glad of an opportunity to retract them.* Neither had others, nor himself, then learned the efficacy of separate imprisonment to the extent it has now been proved. The fear that most of our convicts would relapse for a time, although many good effects of former discipline would be permanent, was, he is thankful to say, unfounded. The author has received from time to time the most satisfactory testimony to this effect, from the highly intelligent and Christian men who superintend the Portland establishment. Many letters received from convicts have been of the most pleasing character; and by a recent visit, and personal converse with a large number of them, *he became thoroughly convinced, and very thankful, that his former apprehensions were not realized.*" The punishments in this prison have been very light, and the faults few. Out of 1320 prisoners there were only 494 offences, and but 3 *cases of corporal punishment.* Under Captain Clay, the present Governor, the same strict discipline prevails, combined with great kindness, which characterized his predecessor.

Parkhurst Prison.

Parkhurst Prison, for juvenile convicts, embraces the two stages of discipline, separate confinement and penal labour, the first being considerably abbreviated. It is an admirable institution, and, under the present Board of Directors, presents a most encouraging prospect of improvement. In the Governor, Mr. Hall, these criminal boys have truly a Christian father; and in their chaplains, earnest and faithful ministers of Christ. Less time here is now devoted to intellectual advancement—more to the formation of industrious habits by manual labour, in the management of the land, brick and tile-making, &c. The work done, and the distribution of the boys' labour on the farm, reflect great credit on the skill and judgment of the steward, Mr. Strickland, to whom this province is assigned. He is what every one engaged in arduous work ought to be, to insure success, almost an enthusiast in his line.

After a prescribed number of years' probation, in one or other of those establishments, the convict who had acquitted himself well, was transported with a ticket-of-leave. Such, summarily, was the plan of Lord John Russell's Government for carrying out the sentence of transportation; and the utmost care was taken to insure its success by the selection of able and experienced officers to superintend the discipline and labour of the convicts, and

of zealous and devoted Christian men, as ministers and schoolmasters. Under this arrangement, transportation assumed the severest, yet the most humane and Christian, form yet tried. The sentence struck terror into the stoutest heart, divested as it was of well-known chances of escape, and involving a course of previous discipline, penal and reformatory, distasteful beyond measure to criminals. It came home to every class of mind. There is a great diversity of feeling amongst prisoners respecting the comparative degree of severity belonging to the several sorts of punishment. Therefore, that which is most uniform will be the most unequal in its pressure. The adventurous young criminal, and all who have no friends or home, make very light of being sent out of the country. To many, indeed, of this class, transportation has been an object of desire, as giving them a chance of bettering their condition, or of ambition, as the completion of their education in crime; but the thought of being shut up by himself for twelve or eighteen months first, with only respectable and religious persons to speak to, the persons he has been fleeing from all his life, fills him with dismay. The educated and well-brought-up, desiring concealment and having mental resources, can bear the thought of seclusion for a while, and of an exile to follow, in a country where he is not known; but his heart sinks within him when he hears, that, after the ordeal of separate confinement, he is to be worked at penal labour in a convict dress, and in some measure exposed to

public view. Others again, and perhaps the greater part, accustomed to labour, and contemplating the advantages to be derived from education whilst in prison, could bear both these stages of discipline with little mental or bodily suffering, to whom removal from home and country is perfectly appalling. The diversity, therefore, in the character of punishment in the several parts of this scheme of probation, was not its least valuable part.

Millbank Prison.

This is the great central depôt for convicts, and of late years also a place of separate confinement. I perceive with great satisfaction that the offences last year were few, and humanely dealt with. Out of 2909 convicts only 6 *received corporal correction.* The reports of Dr. Baly, the experienced physician of this vast prison, are of great value.

New System of Convict Discipline.

The discovery of gold in such large quantities in Australia, rendered necessary the reconsideration of the whole subject of transportation.

The value of convict labour to the colonist, indeed, became thereby greatly enhanced, all free labourers having left for the diggings, or only consenting to remain with their employers at a ruinously high rate of wages. Hence the colonists, members of the Anti-transportation League, as well

as others, were to be seen looking out for the arrival of each convict ship, with ticket-of-leave men, and boarding her with a most ludicrous eagerness, that if possible they might forestall the market and possess themselves of a large share in the valuable cargo. The same circumstances, however, which thus freed the Government at home from the difficulty of actual disposal of the convicts created a greater. It was obvious that the ultimate destination of the convict should not be a region of gold, the very name of which, so alluring to the ordinary population of the country, would prove to thieves, whose life is one of exchange of certain good for the chance of greater gain, a direct incentive to serious crime. The terror of long and severe stages of convict discipline to be passed through before the possibility could occur of reaching the country would have little effect upon ill-regulated minds, occupied with the one idea of making a fortune by a sudden effort.

Happily for Government and the ends of justice, the difficulty did not occur a few years back, when no adequate means existed at home to employ and discipline transported persons.

As it is, the arrangements carried out by Colonel Jebb, as described in this chapter, made the solution of the question comparatively easy. Hence at the close of 1852, seeing the necessity for a change, I wrote as follows, and submitted my remarks to the proper authorities :—

"Crimes punished hitherto by transportation may be summarily classed under the following heads:—

"1. Offences against the person, murder, attempts to murder, unnatural crimes, &c., the sentence for which has been commuted by the Crown to transportation for life.

"2. Offences against property with violence, &c., malicious destruction of property, forgery, coining, and robberies aggravated by frequent repetition.

"3. Offences which must be met with more than ordinary severity, for example sake, as those committed in the army and navy, &c.

"4. Simple offences against property, which form the largest division of crimes punished hitherto by transportation, and which have been so punished with disproportionate severity.

"With respect to the first three classes, there exist ample means for carrying out to the fullest extent the sentence of transportation in the military stations of Bermuda and Gibraltar alone, and, if necessary, other like penal establishments may be formed beyond the seas.

"The sentence of the judge, except in very special cases, should be, in such stations, as fully carried out as the necessity, for supplying some glimmer of hope to cheer the convict's doom, will permit. Life sentences, especially when substituted for capital punishment, should be fully enforced.

"By such means transportation would retain, in my opinion, its deterrent value as the highest of our

secondary punishments, and at the same time be divested of some of its inconsistencies.

"With respect to the remaining class to which the sentence has been so long awarded rather than applied (under the old *régime* seven years' transportation meant always three-and-a-half years at the hulks, &c.), I am persuaded that cellular imprisonment followed by hard labour on the public works (and then it might be a repetition of cellular confinement) under Government, for two to seven or ten years, would prove a more efficacious and a less costly punishment. Works like those of Portland for the protection of our shipping, and others for strengthening the defences of our coast, would turn the labour of such convicts to good account.

"The rapidly increasing stream of emigration of the peasantry of England and Ireland, removes the objection of employing convict labour at home as prejudicing the interests of those deserving classes, and seems to point out the necessity of retaining at home the services of such persons.

"Those suggestions are made subject to two conditions, which appear to me absolutely indispensable. The one is, that convicts now under discipline be treated according to the regulations already made known to them by authority, or have some satisfactory equivalent. The other is, that the foreign and new penal stations, be placed on a par with those at home (with Portland for instance), as regards the separation of the convict by night, religious and educational superintendence, and discipline in general. To insure such uniformity of

humane and Christian treatment, I think that every station should be visited periodically by some competent person, deputed by the Government for the purpose."

The plan decided on by Government is as follows.

Transportation and Penal Servitude.

According to the new Act relating to transportation, no person is to be sentenced to transportation, except for life, or fourteen years, or upwards. Any person who might have been sentenced to transportation for a term less than fourteen years, is to be liable, at the discretion of the court, to be kept in penal servitude. The following terms of penal servitude are to be awarded, instead of the present terms of transportation :—Instead of transportation for seven years, or for a term not exceeding seven years, the penal servitude is to be a term of four years. Instead of any term of transportation exceeding seven years, and not exceeding ten years, the penal servitude is to be not less than four, and not exceeding six years. Instead of transportation exceeding ten, and not exceeding fifteen years, the penal servitude is to be for not less than six, and not exceeding eight years; where it exceeds fifteen years, the penal servitude is to be not less than six, and not exceeding ten years; and instead of transportation for life, the penal servitude is to be for the term of life; and in every case where, at the discretion of the court, one of any two or more of the terms of transportation might have been awarded,

the court shall have the like discretion to award one of the two or more terms of penal servitude in relation to such term of transportation. There are three clauses in the Act with regard to *tickets-of-leave in the United Kingdom, and the system is now to be tried for the first time in this country.* It is declared to be lawful for her Majesty, by an order in writing, under the hand and seal of one of the principal secretaries of state, to grant to any convict now under sentence of transportation, or who may hereafter be sentenced to transportation, or to any punishment substituted for transportation by this Act, a license to be at large in the United Kingdom and the Channel Islands, or in such parts thereof respectively as in such license shall be expressed, during such portion of his or her term of transportation or imprisonment, and upon such conditions in all respects as to her Majesty shall seem fit, and it shall be lawful for her Majesty to revoke or alter such license by a like order at her Majesty's pleasure. So long as such license shall continue in force and unrevoked, such convict shall not be liable to be imprisoned or transported by reason of his or her sentence, but shall be allowed to go and remain at large according to the terms of such license. On a license being revoked the convict may be apprehended, by justices' warrant, and committed to the same prison, to undergo the residue of his or her sentence there. The penal servitude will be passed in the prisons described in this chapter.

The point of difficulty in this scheme is that which I have marked by italics.

The ticket-of-leave system in the widely dispersed population of the Australian plains—where labour was scarce, and the colonists, looking to their necessities and the habits of their adopted country, were the less fastidious—and the same system at home, are two very different things.

Western Australia, still anxious to receive convict-labour, by which the colony has been revived, if not saved from utter ruin, will absorb but a fourth, or at most a third, of the annual convict-population of Great Britain and Ireland. The remainder, some 2 or 3000, after a while will annually be allowed to mix in society, and to compete with the free labourer, under the greatest disadvantages; which some, as wise as they are humane, would turn into the absolute certainty of failure, by "imprinting on the person of the unhappy convict some indelible brand."

Not a few of these men, indeed, will disappear from the calendar of crime, being received by friends, or otherwise helped; some will take to the sea or emigrate, and the able-bodied will get employment without difficulty, where previous character is not looked into; but the mass, including all of the worst class, will be thrown on society in a pitiable and most hazardous condition.

Will employers in England knowingly give work to ticket-of-leave holders; or, discovering their real position, retain their services?

Will free labourers be content to be amalgamated

with men of this class? will those unhappy persons be tolerated as neighbours, and treated with kind consideration, or provoked to violence, and driven, as a class, into confederacy and their old habits? Will our police and detectives not expose and worry them?

That many of the number (say 50 in 1000) will again perpetrate serious crimes, there can be no reasonable question; will the public not take alarm at their evil deeds, and the press not aggravate it?

These are questions to be answered only by experience.

Happily, if the scheme fail in this point, the main parts will yet remain, thanks to the admirable arrangements of Colonel Jebb; and England's convicts may again be usefully employed in some of her distant dependencies as pioneers of the free colonist, or otherwise, as circumstances may point out, with perhaps a severer punishment to the thoroughly bad, and a larger measure of hope to those of a better sort.

Reviewing the difficulties of the experiment from other points of view than those to which I have referred, the *Times* of Oct. 20th, 1853, concludes its article by the following excellent remarks:—

"Thus much, however, is certain, that by removing the punishment of our crime from distant and unknown countries, and placing it in the very centre of our social system, we shall bring home to the minds of the people of this country that which they have never had before—a thorough sense of the re-

sponsibility of the community for the crime it brings up, and for the necessity of dealing, not only with the disease itself when fully developed, but with what have been well called its premonitory symptoms. The more difficult, the more distressing, the more humiliating we find it to punish the full-grown criminal, the more sensible we are of the contamination which he carries with him, and the sacrifice at which any attempt at his reformation must be carried out, the more anxious shall we be to diminish the numbers of this formidable and unmanageable class, by counteracting the first incentives to vice, and breaking up those seminaries and nurseries where it is inculcated and instilled. The effect of bringing secondary punishments nearer home will be, to make that attention to the subject earnest and incessant, which now is languid and intermitting. It is the intention of Providence that every community should bear the weight of the crime that it produces, and, if we have hitherto contrived to evade that intention, we have paid the penalty of it in another shape, by the encouragement of a spirit of remissness which has made us the prey of successive generations of criminals, whom we have brought up to plunder us, that we in our turn may, at a vast expense and with much trouble, send them to perpetrate the same outrages on our remote dependencies. We are now to bear our own burthen, and the result will be, if we mistake not, a very serious determination on the part of the community to make that burden as light as possible." I would add—in

dependence upon the blessing of that same Providence.

One necessary result from the new arrangements will be, in my opinion, the establishment of one or more doubly-penal institutions at home, for the imprisonment of such convicts as shall be guilty of grave offences in the ordinary Government prisons, or otherwise seem to be incorrigible by ordinary methods.

It is melancholy to contemplate such a necessity; but under the best management of our convict-prisons it must, I think, be looked for.

Whether those doubly-penal establishments should be attached to the existing convict-prisons, at the public works, but distinguished by circumstances likely to impress the whole body of the prisoners with dread of the consequences of transgression, in the construction of the building itself as well as in its internal economy; or, whether they should be distinct prisons altogether on some dreary island off the coasts of Ireland or Scotland, or elsewhere, I am not prepared positively to affirm. I incline, however, to the first plan as being likely to effect the most good with the least amount of evil, and, no doubt, the least cost.

Wherever such a desperate felons' prison be located, I fully anticipate that it will answer the ends of justice and discipline better than Norfolk Island ever did. To do so, however, the following conditions appear to me absolutely necessary:—

Hope must not be extinguished — the earnest

ministrations of religion must not be diminished—the claims of a reasonable humanity, in any particular, must not be set aside.

A sentence pronounced at the public works by competent authority of three, six, nine, or twelve months, to *the prison for the refractory*, where it was known that diet of the coarsest description (though ample), the hardest bedding (though still dry and clean), and the most intense solitude, constituted the main elements of discipline, would strike more terror into the minds of the mass of convicts, than banishment to any region of the earth where the association of persons of like character was permitted, and the usual amount of bodily comforts provided.

Brixton Female Convict Prison.

This is the Old Brixton House of Correction, lately purchased by Government from the county of Surrey, upon completion of its prison palace on Wandsworth Common, and reconstructed under the new convict arrangements for female convicts henceforth to be retained at home.

Separation at night is being secured for all the women in this prison, and the establishment has been placed under Mrs. Martin (relict of Rev. Mr. Martin, the late highly-esteemed chaplain of Woolwich convict-establishment), with the authority of governor and matron; and Mr. Moran as resident minister, whose unwearied labours as chaplain at

Portland and elsewhere have already, in these pages, been alluded to. No selection of superior officers could have been more promising; and they begin their most arduous work with the best wishes and the most fervent prayers of their numerous Christian friends.

Roman Catholic Convicts.

On the vote for Government prisons and convict establishments at home, as reported in the *Times* of August 10th, 1853, it will be remembered that this subject was brought before the house by Mr. Lucas, the member for Meath, and the recognized editor of the *Tablet*.

In a speech well suited to the temper of the House, Mr. Lucas pressed upon Government, that, under the new regulations, Roman Catholic chaplains should be regularly attached and salaried in the convict prisons of England, as has long been done in Ireland, and in the penal colonies since Lord Derby's administration of the Colonial Government.

Upon the general question involved in such a measure I do not consider myself called upon to enter. It will be discussed, doubtless, in its legitimate place agreeably with its importance, as another significant move towards the establishment of the Roman Catholic Church in this country. Let it be borne in mind that it is not a question of toleration, but endowment. The Roman Catholic priest may now visit and instruct all of his communion in our

prisons whenever he wills and they request it, consistently with ordinary prison arrangements.

Neither is it a mere prison question, for if the principle of an established religion in England be violated in this respect, it will infallibly open a way for inroads upon the constitution in other departments. In our prisons, also, such a measure must introduce interminable contests, and confusion in matters of discipline and instruction. There must be, for instance, Roman Catholic schoolmasters as well as priests, or you must forego school education, and a selection of Roman Catholic books, secular as well as religious, or no library. Then, the law must be changed, or every minister of the Established Church will continue to exercise his right, as chaplain, of instructing all the prisoners in the gaol, except those who formally *place themselves* under instructors of their own nominal persuasion.

As Mr. Lucas, however, referred in his speech to the manner in which he conceives that I have thought it my duty to act with respect to Roman Catholic convicts in this prison, I think it due to myself, and my brother chaplains in the same service, whose practice has been precisely my own, to state what I have done in the matter to which the honourable member refers.

The following is that part of Mr. Lucas's speech in which the reference occurs :—

"In the English prisons, nothing was known in law, but a Protestant chaplain. If a prisoner chose to ask for the services

of a Catholic chaplain, he could do so, and might receive those services; but the person whom he must try to please, if he wished a character for good conduct, was the Protestant chaplain; and the system worked so, that it was, in point of fact, the interest of Catholic prisoners to attend the services of the Protestant chaplain, though he did not mean to say the system was intentionally worked so. He had that fact from the very best authority—namely, the evidence of the Rev. Mr. Kingsmill, who for many years had been Chaplain of Pentonville Prison, and who was examined before a Parliamentary Committee on the 22nd of March, 1847. [The hon. gentleman read an extract from the evidence, stating that there was no difficulty in a Catholic prisoner seeing his friends; that there were seldom in Pentonville Prison more than twenty out of 500 who professed, at entrance, to be Catholics; but that many Catholics entered their names as Protestants, lest some feeling should militate against them if it were known that they were Catholics.] It must be obvious that those numbers could not be true as respected the Catholics who entered Pentonville. The Right Rev. Dr. Wilson, whose name was well known as connected with the colony of Van Diemen's Land, and for the great services he had performed with reference to convicts in that settlement, stated the result of his experience to be, that he had always found, with respect to the numbers who attended Catholic services, that every ship from England carried from 15 to 20 per cent. of Catholics, and every ship from Ireland not more than 10 per cent of Protestants. He had read an extract from evidence given in 1847 by the Rev. Mr. Kingsmill, of whom he did not wish to speak except in terms of respect. But it was obvious that Mr. Kingsmill had got a very wrong notion of the duties which attached to his functions. He had published a book, in which he took notice of having made that invaluable discovery that the Catholic Church was Antichrist, and the Pope the Man of Sin. He had published that book in the character of chaplain (there was not the least objection to his publishing it in his personal character), and he expressed his rejoicing on account of persons being brought over to the service of the English Church who had lived so long in Ireland that they knew better than others how to deal with the Man of Sin and Antichrist. It was not meant to say that he put it in an offensive way; but he

had a wrong notion of his functions, and he acted on that wrong view as a man who was anxious to fulfil his duty. He evidently believed that his duty in the prison was to make proselytes, to convert the benighted Papists into the profession of the Protestant faith, and that nothing could be done for the moral improvement of Catholic prisoners till he had done the work of a controversialist. It was only recently that this fact happened at Pentonville prison. Last Easter twelvemonth the Catholic priest who was accustomed to attend that prison made inquiry as to the number of Catholic prisoners, with the view of attending them for their Easter duties. He got a list of eighty. Some weeks before last Easter he was informed that such a list would not be furnished to him in future. He was to have a list only, it should seem, of those who were bold enough, in the face of temporal interest, to make a demand for the services of the priest. Last Easter he got a list of fifteen. With reference to returns which had been ordered on his motion, he should remark that the honest, straightforward manner of stating the number of Catholics in prison was that which gave the eighty."

In all this I have nothing personally to complain of, and but little to explain. Mr. Lucas, I suppose, got his information in the matter to which he refers from the Father Confessor of our Roman Catholic prisoners, the Rev. Mr. Oakeley; and I am not surprised if that gentleman should feel chagrined at finding so few of his nominal profession amongst the prisoners consenting to receive the visits which he had so zealously volunteered. The part which I took in the matter will be fully seen from the following letter to the Visiting Director on the subject:—

Pentonville Prison, April 29, 1852.

Sir,

A prisoner (Regr. No. 4218. BI, 42) having complained to me, last evening, that he had been visited by a minister of his

nominal persuasion, without any request on his part, and that the visit had been repeated, and that, notwithstanding his respectful remonstrance, the gentleman expressed his intention of coming again, and desired him to be ready to confess on the next visit, I referred him to the Governor for protection, not knowing, nor interrogating him on, the grounds of his refusal.

This morning, the Governor, on my acquainting him with the occurrence, showed me a copy of the minutes of the Board of the 22nd ult., negativing a proposition, for the collective instruction of Roman Catholic prisoners by a minister of their own persuasion, but expressing their desire to carry into the fullest effect the provisions contained in the Act 4. Geo. IV., cap. 64, s. 31.

At the same time, the Governor informed me, that the minister referred to, had been supplied, upon request, with a list of prisoners of his persuasion, for the purpose of religious visitation.

It is concerning this list I take the liberty most respectfully to address you, and through you the Board of Directors.

That the fullest effect should be given to the provisions of the Act referred to, I most cordially assent to. I hold the principle of religious liberty to be a sacred thing; and have always clearly enunciated to prisoners of a different persuasion from that of the Established Church, their privileges, or rather rights in this respect. The Governor, to my knowledge, does the same, and by a late wise regulation the whole body of prisoners are regularly, every month, informed in order of the regulations of the prison in this and all respects by the schoolmaster.

To supply any minister, however, with such a list, is, in my opinion, to go so very far beyond what the law contemplates, that I take the very earliest opportunity of placing the matter before you.

The words of the Act are:—

"*If any prisoner shall be of a religious persuasion differing from that of the Established Church, a minister of such persuasion* AT THE SPECIAL REQUEST OF SUCH PRISONER, *shall be allowed to visit him*," &c.

In most of the cases on the list referred to, it is my conviction, there has not been any request to see the person who holds the list, and in those cases I hold it, that the provisions of

the Act are disregarded alike in the letter, and spirit of the law, and the prisoner is coerced by such a list put into the hands of a spiritual person, unless possessed of uncommon moral courage, into a system or religious persuasion, to which he may most conscientiously object; simply because he has had the misfortune to be born or brought up in it, or from ignorance, or haste, or mere mistake happened to be set down in the books under a certain denomination.

I would respectfully ask: Are the accredited ministers of all persuasions, differing from that of the Established Church, to be furnished with lists of persons nominally belonging to them? Or, is the Board prepared to affirm the application of a Mr. Oakeley, and ignore a similar one from a Dr. Cumming? Why should the special license be granted to the Roman Catholic minister? I most respectively submit that of all persuasions, the ministers of that church are the very last to be so favoured; for they alone are bound to secresy as to what may transpire between them and prisoners, whether it affect discipline, morals, the course of human justice, or even life.

I further beg leave to say what must also follow from an arrangement of this nature. Under the provisions of the same Act (30th section) I shall consider myself, as chaplain of this prison, to have free access for all spiritual purposes to all prisoners, "*except such as shall be of a religious persuasion different from that of the Established Church, who* SHALL HAVE MADE A REQUEST THAT A MINISTER OF SUCH PERSUASION SHALL BE ALLOWED TO VISIT THEM." Hence, inevitably, new and increased difficulties, of a very delicate nature, must arise, in the government of the prison, embarrassing, it may be, to Government itself. If I have put a wrong interpretation on the law, of course my case falls to the ground, but I have this presumption in favour of my views, that supplying Roman Catholic ministers with lists of prisoners is quite a new proceeding.

I have confined myself to my own case, because I feel that I am not justified in going further, but I venture to hope that the Board will take occasion to consider the question in all its bearings, and in reference to the whole convict-establishments.

In consequence of my vindication of the civil and

religious liberty secured to these poor men by the law, the Board of Directors examined them individually, and those who said they were Roman Catholics and wished to be visited by the priest, were alone left on his list. Hence the reduction that Mr. Lucas speaks of, as being produced by an improper or senseless sort of influence on my part.

What could the civil Government do? coerce the reluctants to confession, or recognize their legal rights, and protect the men in their assertion of them? With respect to my mode of proceeding in general towards Roman Catholic convicts, (the same is pursued by all my brethren in like circumstances, with whom I am acquainted,) it has always been as follows:—

Whenever a Roman Catholic prisoner requests to see his priest, I cease to minister to him in spiritual things, but acquaint him that he may have my friendly counsel and help in all things as before. I give direction to the schoolmaster to avoid, in circulating the library, placing in the man's cell any books which must necessarily offend him; and in every other way possible I continue to seek to promote his comfort and well-doing.

The result has been, uniformly, that the prisoner feels that difference in character and conduct only can affect his condition and prospects.

If, however, the convict, under the instruction of his priest, (as sometimes has happened, though, very rarely,) feels so anxious about his salvation, that he cannot refrain from seeking my advice re-

specting it, I have certainly never failed to set before the poor sinner, yet without controversy, Christ as the way, the truth, and the life; the only and the all-sufficient Saviour. And this, by God's help, I shall never cease to do. Nor can any Protestant minister ever act otherwise; unless prevented by some new and strange law from entering into conversation with the people of his nominal charge.

"To do the work of a controversialist," however, which Mr. Lucas is pleased to represent as the first, in my notions of duty, as a prison chaplain, has been, neither first nor last, nor indeed any part of them at all.

The Man of Sin, the Pope, Popery, or the Roman Catholic Church, I have never once named, to the best of my recollection, in my daily expositions of Holy Scripture, or in my Sunday sermons.

That I have been guilty of publishing "a book" or books, in which neither the Pope nor his missionaries have been over-complimented, I cannot deny; but in nothing that I have written, have I ever called "the Catholic Church, Antichrist." God forbid! The Catholic Church, in my belief, being the "congregation of all believing people of every country and age, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the sacraments duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance."

Mr. Lucas has a right to his theology, and so have I to mine; and when I became the chaplain of a prison, I did not forego that right. Unless, therefore, the honourable member could have proved

that I had improperly exercised my office in any respect, he had no business, in his place in Parliament to insinuate it.*

* With respect to my statement before Lord Brougham's Committee in 1847, my experience then led me to entertain that opinion. I had reason to think that the proportion of crime amongst the Roman Catholic population was really higher than our returns showed—hence, that there must have been deception. (Some of the cases of cunning hypocrisy amongst these men, Mr. Lucas has brought to my recollection; they will be found appended to the next chapter.) On looking to the prison books I find there were in the first 1000, 56 Roman Catholic convicts, but according to Mr. Oakeley's list there are now some 150 in the 1000. This latter proportion agrees with Dr. Wilson's experience, to which Mr. Lucas refers, and with the returns of Millbank Great Convict Depôt, which last year gave a list of religious denominations as follows:—

Of the	Church of England	1657
„	Roman Catholics	359
„	Dissenters	276
„	Jews	9
„	No denomination	51

I may add, that Mr. Lucas's and Dr. Wilson's figures fully bear out the statements made in a previous chapter, respecting the great excess of crime amongst the Roman Catholic population of England.

CHAPTER V.

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM A PRISON.

"All are wanderers, gone astray,
Each in his own delusions; they are lost
In chase of fancied happiness, still wooed
And never won."—COWPER.

THE reader now may feel some wish to take a view within the walls of the prison, and converse with the unhappy inmates on the causes of their downfall, their treatment, their feelings under correction, or their future prospects.

Let him in imagination, then, accompany, for this purpose, the chaplain of this prison through the round of his sad duties for a few days, and he will have a clearer insight into these matters, than if he inspected the building, but was precluded—as all ordinary visitors are—from converse with its living, thinking inhabitants. The writer will do his best, in the simplest manner, by facts, and reflections, such as may naturally arise from them, to gratify the wish, and to meet such inquiries, as a mind intelligently and humanely interested in the subject might make. There shall be no imagination, how-

ever, on my part, nor any colouring or distortion of the truth.

Notes of Ten Days' Routine of Duties.

Oct. 24.—I conducted the evening daily service with great confort. The prisoners were exceedingly attentive to the exposition, and joined heartily in the responses and singing.

The sick all visited—prisoners in the refractory-ward, and from cell to cell. Read the letters to and from prisoners (each prisoner is allowed to send and receive one every three months). Correspondence relating to the prison, &c., attended to.

A missionary friend introduced to me a Hebrew gentleman, physician to the next heir of the Bey of Tunis, for the purpose of visiting the establishment; obtained permission from the Governor, and accompanied them into the interior.

My friend wished the stranger to take back some ideas favourable to the amelioration of the miserable condition of prisoners and captives in Northern Africa. The mission of the physician to England, however, was to our hospitals. It is pleasant to see symptoms of progress towards liberal views and humanity in those dark Mahometan regions.

Oct. 25.—The usual round of duties. Visited three prisoners under punishment; of these, two are for communicating, one for destroying prison materials.

One of the former, a man of peculiar temper-

ament, told me he did not want to see me in such a place. If I came, he would not open his mouth to me. "Well," said I, "I shall see you when you return to your cell." "I shall be very glad," he replied, "to see you there." He was in the refractory ward before for three days, and, when going down, said: "I shall not eat a morsel of bread whilst I am here;" neither did he (the allowance to prisoners under punishment is bread and water).

May God turn his heart, and make this firmness of purpose instrumental yet for good! I visited the sick. There are only two serious cases of illness, and eight light ones. One of the sick is an old man. He received sentence of transportation, for purchasing a costly silk dress from a woman in respectable life, not knowing it, as he alleges, to be stolen. He was a licensed hawker, and had a good-service pension from the 17th Lancers. He seems to have been respectable in his line of life, up to this transaction, which, I believe, was the result of sheer covetousness. He drank hard in India, but became temperate of late years. He is now languishing in prison, with a broken constitution—has lost his pension—and can never enjoy liberty again, should he live to regain it. Singularly enough, he came to us from a gaol where the husband of his own sister was governor. Both owned their unhappy brother, and showed him the greatest kindness. By another turn of events, the man who attends upon him as nurse, in the infirmary (formerly in the 16th Dragoons), recognized him, after a few moments, as

an old acquaintance in some town, where both regiments were quartered, although so sadly altered.

Sunday, Oct. 26.—Three full services in the chapel. Visited a great many prisoners in their cells. Sunday is the best time to visit prisoners for the purposes of religion, but should not be the only one, because of the many circumstances in their condition, in which a chaplain should feel an interest, or be called to give his counsel.

The assistant chaplain in the morning preached a plain, practical, and forcible sermon on the fear of God. I read prayers. The afternoon service was conducted by the same. I conducted the whole evening service. Lectured from the epistle of the day (19th Sunday after Trinity), Ephes. iv. 17 to end; remarking upon the condition of those Ephesian Christians, when the grace of God found them as described in this chapter—the means by which God brought them out of it—the manifest tendency to relapse in all who receive the truth—and the need, therefore, of such exhortations, as here read; see especially the 28th and 29th verses.

We have rather more singing than in ordinary churches. I conceive it to be a relief to the mind; and, although little entitled to the name of music, I look upon it as an element of civilization, and some help to right feeling in the worship of Almighty God. Well-selected Christian hymns, also, are pleasing, and easily remembered sermons.

Monday, Oct. 27.—The usual services, visiting, &c. Observed in a prisoner's cell, long confined

with a bad leg, a bit of mignonette which I plucked from the little garden of a dear child. I had it in my bosom; but seeing the poor sufferer look wistfully at it, I presented it to him. He seemed as much pleased as a man who had come in for an estate, and evinced much gratitude, heartily blessing the "little maid that plucked it." No man is hopeless who has such feelings.

In visiting to-day, I entered the cell of a prisoner who, having assaulted an officer of the prison when in confinement here two years back, was tried, and punished in the House of Correction for Middlesex, by that additional length of service, and now returns to begin afresh his probation of convict discipline.

Saw also four more in the same condition, for having attempted to escape from the hulks, Dartmoor, &c.; also a Parkhurst boy, now ripe in years and in vice, concerned in the late firing of that prison. All these, in like manner, have to begin again with separate confinement, &c.

The Parkhurst convict is in a reckless state of mind: "he had passed half his time, and they would not send a seven years' man abroad;" "he did not care about punishment," &c.

Visited a poor African, who scarcely knows a word of English. I wish my good friend, Mr. Crowther, now in London, himself once a negro-slave boy, but now an enlightened and able missionary of the gospel to Africa, could come and converse with him. I must try to bring him. He is beginning to

learn to spell English, but it is amazingly hard to teach a language without some common medium.

Visited a prisoner who, in a fit of jealousy, killed his wife. He is an old pensioner, and the father of three sons now serving her Majesty, two being non-commissioned officers. There is nothing repulsive in his countenance. Nevertheless, one cannot look at a man whose hands have been embrued in blood without horror. (Since writing the above, the eldest son—the pride and comfort of his father—has died, in consequence, the wretched man says, of the sad news.)

A prisoner wished to know how he could obtain information about a sister transported some years back. Informed him.

He says she was a virtuous young woman, but was induced by one of his bad companions, who was in the habit of coming to see him, to pawn a stolen gold watch. This is certainly a common trick of thieves, and the person who pawns the stolen goods is sure to be transported as an accomplice.

Tuesday, October 28.—Usual routine of visiting, reading letters, correspondence, &c. Very unsatisfactory visiting in the refractory ward. There are five cells in this ward—dark, double-doored—to-day they are all full, and all the men have been down before for different breaches of discipline. The effect is lost, and the habit of violating rule acquired. One has been trying all manner of games, and counterfeited the madman well. The authorities wrote to the

prison from which he came, in his native town, and ascertained that he was a practised impostor and confirmed thief—in prison twelve or thirteen times. Another has been in the dark cell eight times—three days and nights each. This latter, from his youth and general character, may escape the incorrigible class; but the other is sure to leave us in that pitiable condition, and will feel more bitterly than he has yet done the consequences of his evil course. Another of the five is very indignant at the Governor sending him down "on the word of a prisoner;" he acknowledges that he was talking in chapel, "but the officers ought to have found that out."—Had more comfort in other parts of my duty to-day. Found a poor prisoner distressed in mind, and in great agony from sciatica, waiting, half undressed, to put his knife and the implements of his trade out, as the rule is, it being near double-locking time, 8 P.M. I pulled out the basket for him, spoke some words of consolation and hope, and left him free to get into his hammock again.—Visited a prisoner from Birmingham, one of the best and quickest clerks I have yet met with. Two years ago he was a respectable and promising youth; but gaiety, dress, and the theatre, led to embarrassment, and in an evil hour he abstracted money from his employer, and now is confined in a felon's cell. He has an uncommonly prepossessing appearance, and is of a kind and gentle disposition. Happily, in his troubles and degradation, his heart has been opened, as I believe, to receive the truth; and if liberated to-morrow,

knowing all the particulars of his case, I would not hesitate to give him employment.

Wednesday, October 29.—The usual routine. Seventy new prisoners admitted this morning. The Governor read an address to them in the court-yard, setting before them plainly the regulations of the prison, and exhorted them, from regard to their own interests here and in their subsequent career, to submit to the discipline, &c.

The prisoners paid great attention. The Chaplain followed, and, referring to what they had just heard, encouraged them to hope that their condition in this prison, allowing for the strictness of the discipline, would be much better than they might naturally fear. He assured them they would be treated like men, and never spoken to in irritating language, or with harshness of manner. He told them that few, comparatively, were punished at all, and the greater part of these for offences of mere folly. It was the wish of the authorities that they should be humanely treated, and they were in general remarkably so in this prison.

He then turned to things more important, which if they regarded as they ought, matters of discipline would be very easy, and exhorted them to begin that very day, in the strength of the Lord, a new course of life, and to serve Him henceforth. He knew they all had made resolutions at some time previous in their lives to leave off the ways of sin, but they had not done so. Why not? Because they formed the resolution in their own strength, and were for lop-

ping off merely some one troublesome vice, instead of parting with all, and giving up the whole heart to serve the Lord.

He told them that they should have every help from his brother Chaplain and himself. They might use them as friends in every matter whatever which was a burden to their minds. He felt for them; and, so far as advice and consolation could go, they would always find him ready to help. Commending them "to God, and the word of his grace," he wished them every success, and hoped that at the end of the year both the Governor and he would have the great pleasure of reporting favourably upon their conduct to Government.

As usually is the case, the tear stood in many an eye, true to nature, when the ear hears the accents of sympathy or kindness.

I perceived, from their attitude, that some soldiers were in the group. They were impressed, but succeeded in concealing, from most, their emotions. The regular thief class—pickpockets and swell-mob robbers—listened inquisitively, as if to form a judgment of the speaker's sincerity, or his knowledge of their habits and character. Persons of this description assuredly will attempt to impose, if they detect our simplicity or our ignorance.

I observed farm and other labourers. Some were, no doubt, married. Alas! of how many sad families was there here the representative and the cause in this small section of prisoners! I did not touch, however, on domestic ties. Enough feeling had been excited.

A formal interview by a chaplain, book in hand, with prisoners, is of no use in a moral point of view. As a first visit it is injurious, in my opinion.

Saw several of these convicts in my ordinary visiting in the evening. Some were from places where I have clerical friends, about whom I inquired, which gave me better access to their minds. I was interrogated by several other prisoners this evening on passages of Scripture, in the reading of which most of the prisoners spend some time before going to bed.

The apostle handing over "the guilty person to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved;" "Christ preaching to the spirits in prison;" and "the fire which was to try every man's work," were amongst the subjects of inquiry. —One man whom lately I found sorrowing, as I believe, after a godly sort, declares that he has found peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ.

I was also respectfully asked to explain Solomon's wonderful description of old age. (Eccles. xii.) The inquirer is one of our communicants, once by his own account "the greatest of blackguards." His full acknowledgment of sin is one of the hopeful signs of conversion. It is singular, however, that criminals professing repentance towards God are less moved and less humbled than one often sees amongst less guilty persons in society. This often leads me to doubt the reality of the feeling. It

would be easy to put words in their mouths, by a certain mode of conversing with them—lecturing, &c.—but unless the feeling is spontaneous and from God, this is of no use, and will come to nought. In visiting this evening, I had some conversation with one of the new men. He is a very remarkable person, having energy and talent manifested clearly in his countenance. He is only about twenty-two, and is under sentence for life. He is rather small of stature, and, I think, not very long in a course of crime. Being principal in a desperate house robbery, and acting, in fact, as captain of the gang, he received that dreadful sentence. He said, "The worst of it was, that he knew better, for he had once been a member of a Christian church." He said "he had repented, and found peace; he had been greatly cast down." I recommended close self-examination. He expressed himself obliged for the address in the morning, and said "others felt the same; and whilst together, before entering their separate cells, encouraged one another to a better course of life."

A soldier about to go to Bermuda, begged to know whether he might see his comrade, who, having a shorter term of sentence, is to be removed to a different convict station. Referred him to the Director.

The first of those men, transported for life, for a deadly assault on his sergeant, is, I fear, not penitent. His comrade I believe to be renewed in the spirit of his mind, and as such he was admitted to

communion last Easter. Shortly afterwards, being employed in association (between forty and fifty of our prisoners are so employed, after a term of probation in separate confinement, in prison work—building, repairing, cleaning, &c.), he described himself to me as falling away, and did not offer himself on the next occasion. On the last, however, he did, and was re-admitted, and is, I trust, in a far more decided state of mind.

From the following letter to the minister of his parish in Scotland (just now passing through my hands), the reader may form some judgment for himself in the case :—

"It is with deep feelings of gratitude, and, I hope, a thorough sense of my own unworthiness, I write to you : and although my past life has been not such as deserved your countenance nor regard, yet the continuance of your more than kind assistance to me and my wife, makes me feel more disgusted at myself, when I think of the bad return I have made you for all the many kindnesses and lessons of instruction you have bestowed on me. But I humbly trust, through the assistance of God, that those seeds of religious instruction which you so faithfully inculcated on my youthful mind, have now begun to take root; and I can see, and do confidently believe, that the working of the Almighty, by his Divine providence, has done this ; for although my crime, as far as man's ideas, was met with too severe punishment, yet, when I call to mind my manifold transgressions against a just and merciful God, I am entitled to this and more ; and I humbly thank his holy name that he has dealt so mercifully with me, a stubborn and rebellious sinner. Had not God by his providence brought round the circumstances which led to my present situation, I believe, and with shame confess, I should sooner or later have perished, a victim to the snares of the enemy of souls ; and the more I meditate on my past and sinful life, the more firmly am I convinced that it was an all-wise and merciful God who saw fit to bring me into my present

distress. I feel truly sorry for the unhealthy state my poor Mary is in. I pray God her present afflictions may prove the means of strengthening her faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, whose compassion for us poor helpless sinners exceeds the care of brother or sister."

Oct. 30.—There were ten letters from prisoners this morning,—about the average.—I have received this day permission from Colonel Jebb for Mr. Crowther to visit the African in his cell.—The usual round of duties. Our sick list contains this morning only six out of 561 prisoners. This is, however, below the average. Would there have been so few sick of the same parties in free life? Probably not. The loss of liberty generates some diseases, aggravates others, and impairs muscular action, especially in separate confinement; but, on the whole, seems less unfavourable to health, where the prisoner is properly treated, than the improvident and irregular habits of such persons when free.—One man whom I have just seen, although he has felt the punishment very severely, tells me that he never enjoyed greater freedom from ill-health and headache than in the twelve months of his imprisonment, now drawing to a close. I asked him what he attributed this to. His reply was, that he now drank water only. At home (Italy) he drank daily a bottle of wine. This man's case deserves some remark. His crime is forgery on the Austrian Government Bank. He had never read a page of Holy Scripture until he entered this prison, and was taught to read in the English tongue. As his term of sentence is

short, he may return to his wife and children, whom he dearly loves, and by God's blessing prove a light to them in that benighted land. He is now anxiously looking for a letter, which I, too, shall be rejoiced to see. He is a fine-looking man, and very affectionate. He always smiles when I bid him good evening, (as I have learned from him to do,) in his own language.

A prisoner's letter to his wife lies on my table. He was a railway porter—a man of previous good character, and a good husband and father. One sentence may here be transcribed :—

"I could not help shedding tears when I heard of my dear little Maria asking, why I did not come home to see her? Oh, how happy I should be to do so!"

In another letter before me, the convict writes :—

"My dear Parents,—I hope you will not grieve yourselves about me more than you can help. I intend, if ever I regain my liberty, to lead quite a different kind of life. Think not, my dear parents, that this is merely the thought of one who will forget this as soon as he regains his liberty. I earnestly pray to God, who alone can help me, that he will give me his aid in keeping my resolution for ever. My dear parents, I hope you will warn sister Mary's children not to follow in my steps; for, if they do, their ruin is certain. Give my kind love to my dear sisters; I hope they will not fret about me. I do not deserve that they should think about me."

Assisted this morning in classifying 70 prisoners for the public works. I consider our classification as little more than negative; and am heartily glad that, where found incorrect, by the more certain test of character in associated labour, it may be rectified.

Received from the schoolmaster the school classification of the 70 prisoners admitted yesterday: 33 of the number can write their own letters unassisted, and 14 more with help; 60 have been in some sort of school in childhood.

Visited in the wards in the evening as usual. This is as peculiar a species of labour as can well be conceived. When physically low, one feels unequal to it. When ordinarily well, I find it a means of elevating rather than depressing the spirits. The effort to relieve others' griefs, no doubt lightens one's own lesser cares.

I stopped a little longer this evening than usual with a downcast prisoner who feels the confinement terribly. He is an old whale-fisher, and interested in the fate of poor Sir John Franklin. He drank in with avidity the few scanty particulars I was able to communicate respecting the search.

Pursuing my round of visits, I had another request made by a convict soldier, now invalided, to be allowed to see his comrade, about to be removed to the public works in Bermuda. Referred him to the Director.

Conversed with a convict who proves to be a native of my own town, and familiar with all the scenes of my boyhood. "Who hath made us to differ?" To thy grace, O Lord, I ascribe it all. O Lord, show pity upon this prisoner!

In the draft of men under orders for Bermuda, there are several soldiers. All ascribe their fall, directly or indirectly, to drink. Several of them

are from the army in Canada, having attempted to escape into the States. Most of them have now served nearly two years—the greater part in solitude—and they are now going to the public works for years. Poor men! I feel much for them.

A *very* deaf prisoner was allowed to-day a visit from his friends in the same room. (In the ordinary place for the purpose, they can only see and converse with each other at a distance, being separated by double bars, with an officer between,—after the manner of certain convents. It is the most repulsive part of the whole prison, but with criminals in general, it is a necessity.) I permitted the visit to take place in my office, and hearing the poor man tell his friends of his great progress in reading, I gave him a book to read for them. They were quite surprised. It was extremely hard to teach him; but he was very persevering, and now is enjoying the comfort of it.

Had some conversation with one of the second probation-class from the hulks—a man who used there to be in perpetual punishment for disobedience or some other offence. He seems now to have some religious impressions. He has greatly improved himself in reading; chiefly, he says, by following us in our daily exposition. It was this man who asked me to explain the passage about the fire to try every man's work, in 1 Cor. iii., and to whom I thought it well to give the tangible idea of supposing it addressed here to prisoners, leaving separate confinement for the ordeal of association. What

is really good and solid in a man's profession of religion will stand; what is worthless will soon be discovered and come to nought. He will, on the Governor's recommendation and my own, be removed from the doubly penal class.

Talked with an old Indian soldier. His stomach, he said, was gone. He acknowledged that he had been a hard drinker: "used to take two half-pints of arrack before breakfast. It had no effect upon him. The allowance for each man was half-a-pint daily. The doctor said it was good for a man, if he did not take too much." He said—and others have told me the same—that the Company, in his time, used to allow even the *elephants* employed in carrying the tents of the regiments, &c., arrack—"a gallon a day each, till they killed some of the black fellows, when they reduced it one-half."

This superfluity of folly and waste seems incredible; but after all, perhaps, not more irrational than the allowance of ardent spirits, *as a daily beverage*, to the man. The effects of the arrack, also, seemed identical—the drunken elephant kills his guide; the soldier his officer.

In the drinking habits of the army in India, it is said there has been of late years much improvement, and that the reform is beginning at the right end—the officers' mess-room. It must be vain to expect a temperate soldiery when those in command do not show the example, or when military doctors sanction such a daily universal allowance.

Oct. 31.—The usual round of duties. Visited

the sick, prisoners under punishment, and in the wards generally.

Conversed with a prisoner whose father wrote to me about him some time back. He was religiously brought up; put to business in town; entered the army, and in Canada deserted with three others. He is now in a hopeful state of mind. His believing father's prayers are, I do trust, being heard.

Saw another soldier, transported for striking a corporal. He was drunk; knew nothing of it in the morning; had no ill-will against the corporal; he had been for years, in fact, his comrade.

Conversed with a Scotch farmer, one of the most intelligent men of his class I ever met with. In complicated pecuniary difficulties, arising from inadequate capital, and great haste to get on, he committed forgery.

A clergyman of African descent to-day visited me, whom I accompanied through the prison—the Rev. E. M. Stokes, from Liberia. Had an opportunity of collecting some information about that most interesting colony of Africans, liberated from slavery in the United States.

Although these emigrants are by no means of the best sort—the slave owners being slow to allow the most useful to purchase their freedom—the colony, he states, is in a thriving state; and the moral influence of its Christian institutions is reaching far into the interior—like that of our own colony in Sierra Leone—to the damaging of the iniquitous slave-trade, and the spread of the gospel. The

Government is republican—on the model of the United States. The President, Mr. Roberts, is a Christian—of the Wesleyan body. They have a prison, which deserves the designation of a Model Prison, better than ours. *It has no inmates*, and is scarcely ever entered, except to "clear it of the insects, and keep it clean." In Monrovia, the capital, there were only three places of public entertainment; and so high a tax upon spirits, that it was but little used. I asked, if public-houses were multiplied and the tax reduced, how would it be with the prison? "It would soon be tenanted," was the reply. This simple people have not attained to the *wisdom* of older and greater States!

The English language is the vernacular tongue, and education is diligently prosecuted amongst the population.

Mr. Stokes hopes to be useful to the colony, as an agent of the Bible and Tract Society in Monrovia.

He has just come from Ireland. He says of the natives of that country, "They are the lowest I have yet seen in any part of the civilized world."

In Cork, he had to be protected from their violence, in consequence of the free expression of his sentiments, as a Protestant Christian minister.

Subsequently, visiting in the prison, I asked a convict whether he had seen me conversing in the corridor with an African gentleman. He told me he had. He was much interested in my account of Liberia, as having traded formerly on that coast; also another prisoner, who, as a boy, served under

his uncle, the master of a slaver. This sailor-lad is now, I trust, a true follower of Christ.

Nov. 1.—The usual round of visits.

Read some interesting letters from prisoners, under orders of removal, to their friends.

The sister of one called upon me, to know my opinion as to his state of mind. I was thankful to be able to give a good account of his religious state. He has been here a very great sufferer from an old complaint, but has always said, it was little in comparison with what he deserved. From his relations, I understand he used to be very irritable under attacks of the same. Received for him a Bible, the parting gift of an aged mother, unable to come to see him, and who will never see him more on earth. The Lord grant that they may meet at his right hand in the great day.

Nov. 2, *Sunday.*—I preached this morning from the text, "Draw nigh to God, and he will draw nigh to you;" pointing out the *only way* in which sinners can approach a just and holy God, Eph. ii. 13.

In the evening, as a sequel and illustration of the morning discourse, took the wondrously beautiful parable of the prodigal son; first, simply paraphrasing it, and directing attention to some of its touching features; and then, looking at it doctrinally, as showing, distinctly, the sinner in his natural state —the sinner penitent and believing—the sinner pardoned, and received into the family of God.

I was encouraged to hope that there was joy in

the presence of the angels of God over some poor repenting sinner in the congregation. "His Word shall not return to Him void."

Let the reader now look a little beyond the range prescribed in the foregoing pages, and view a series of cases, illustrative of character, crime, &c.

Visit from Cell to Cell.

Cell 1.—A night cabman; concerned in the robbery of a drunken *gentleman*, in company with abandoned women; asserts his innocence, but knew the character of the parties in whose hands the victim was, and their design. He is extremely wretched, and suffers great bodily pain from an incurable complaint.

2.—A vagrant tumbler, and low thief—naturally very shrewd, but from his habits of life, and some bad falls on the head, very odd—approaching to derangement. He has made great progress in books, and has imbibed religious knowledge almost too rapidly,—he is very excitable on this subject.

3.—A sailor, of low drunken habits, transported for stealing from a dwelling-house. Having been paid off from his ship, got into bad company, and soon lost or spent all. Set out for another port, to get a ship. In a lodging-house, made acquaintance with a party who wanted to complete their begging company of "*shipwrecked sailors*" by a real seaman, who could stand the examination of retired sea-faring persons. He joined them, and, by

his means, they often got large sums from good-hearted old sailors.

4.—A very cunning pickpocket. He has been frequently in gaol. When in the van, coming here, described how he would impose upon the chaplains by various schemes. He did not, however, attempt to do so; but proved to be a very troublesome prisoner, and for his misconduct was put in the lowest class on leaving.

5.—A farm-labourer, from Somersetshire; a specimen of the stolid ignorance of his class. He could not tell whether the sun rose in the east or west. Being asked in which quarter of the world he was born—Europe, Asia, Africa, or America? answered, "In none of them—in Somersetshire."

6.—A native of London, quite as ignorant in these subjects. He, too, was "born in none of them places, but in Whitechapel." Had no idea what *wheat* was; a spade he knew,—"'twas a shovel;" a *harrow* he said he knew,—"it was for boys to shoot with."

7.—A canal boatman, worn down at thirty, by cold, wet, and hunger, to the lowest state of physical prostration. Never had a Sunday to himself since he was a child. Deplorably ignorant of the most common things, and, of course, of the things of salvation. Had stolen some petty articles on two or three occasions, and, for the last theft, got transported.

8.—A Suffolk farm-labourer. In order to test this man's knowledge of what he must have heard

at church, to which he was obliged to go once on a Sunday, I inquired to which he belonged—the Jews or the Gentiles? He answered, "To neither." This implying some definite idea, I then asked, what he understood by these names? He said, "The Jews were teetotallers — the Gentiles, gentlefolk. There warn't many of them in ———; but there was plenty about Ipswich."

To a prisoner of this class, the following communication was made by letter, not long since :—

"Dear brother,—You sent home word by Rebecca, to call your donkey 'Jack.' Dear brother, don't think your name is forgot, for your pig is called '*Jack*,' and it's judged in ten score."

9.—A prize-fighter. Under a false name, he was convicted of highway robbery, innocent, he alleges, of that crime; however, "has done as bad, and worse, many times." Was, at the time of his apprehension, in a bad house, with thieves and loose characters, spending 5*s*. he had gotten from a clergyman in Derby, by attending his lecture, and making out a pitiful tale. He took it all now as a judgment from God, for that and other sins. He had escaped justice in a case of manslaughter,—having killed a man in a prize-fight, and fled.

The preaching of God's word seems to have come home to this man's heart. He delights in reading the Holy Scriptures, which he has been taught here to do; and has become gentle, docile, and obedient. The expression of his countenance is changed, and he puts one in mind of the man who was found,

when delivered by Jesus from the power of Satan, "clothed, and sitting and in his right mind."

10.—An American liberated black; convicted of uttering a forged note. In his muscular and general structure this man seemed perfect. On this account, in the first instance, he attracted the notice of Sir Benjamin Brodie, then a member of the Pentonville Board of Commissioners. Sir Benjamin offered, most kindly, to send out his wife and child after him to Australia. I recommended delay, having some reason for caution. As soon as he landed with a conditional pardon, (according to the then arrangement,) he was known as a distinguished pugilist, and laid hold on by publicans, who put him forward again in his horrid business—I am sure, against his inclination. He was a most peaceable and orderly man; but thus, all his life long, has he been drawn into wickedness by parties who made a gain of him, or sport for their inhuman fancy.

Many aristocratic young men patronized this prize-fighter's preliminary performances in a public-house in the West-end, and betted heavily upon him, who did not appear at the brutal fight, and made him large presents. "Lord —— gave him, on one of these occasions, a £5 note."

In a Sydney sporting paper, forwarded to me by some unknown friend, this convict's performance (in a fight) was lauded to the skies, and his penal position referred to with a degree of consideration, which one would rejoice to have seen extended to others of

his class, pursuing a reputable and industrious calling in the colony, but who met with different treatment.

11.—One of two brothers, transported for highway robbery—both here. On tramp from Birmingham, for work, fell in with an old hand at robbery, and were induced to join in his scheme. Stopped a gentleman in a gig, and robbed him; one of the brothers holding the horse, the other a pistol, whilst the third party rifled the traveller's pockets. This last man was not taken. The brothers both assured me, that whilst engaged in the affair, they trembled from head to foot. Both truly repented of their great wickedness, as I trust, whilst here. A cousin, filling the situation only of clerk in a London house, sent them, out of his savings, £15. They kept £5, and sent, with the leave of the generous donor, £10 to their poor mother. All this occurred to my certain knowledge.

12.—A soldier, transported for desertion. Came with a very bad character from his regiment, having been frequently punished for misconduct. After a while here, appeared to be sinking into idiotcy; was under observation on that account; suddenly, seemed to shake it all off, and came out a different person altogether; and was, to the end, a most examplary prisoner.

The idiotcy was counterfeited very ably. I had the impression that it was put on. Saw the prisoner; spoke to him, and after a while, having succeeded in eliciting some marks of attention, became

certain, and told him so. Put before him the consequence of both sorts of conduct; appealed to him as a man, and as one of whom I had hope, and assured him, if he made the effort to do well, he should have every help. I had told no one my mind in this case, nor did I *intend* to do. He was overcome, and afterwards, when speaking with me on the subject of religion—which he gave every evidence of having truly received—he told me, with tears, "that talking was the turning-point of my life."

13.—This man, transported for robbing from a dwelling-house, assured me that, when in the old prison of Stafford, he planned with another, confined there for a few months, like himself, a robbery in that county, and, if opposition were made, murder. He told me, under convictions of conscience, that he was so wicked a wretch, that one night, having secreted himself in a barn, for the purpose of robbing the house when the family had gone to sleep, he fell asleep himself, and not awaking till daybreak, was so enraged, that he set fire to the barn, and saw with pleasure, when a mile or so off, the whole premises in a blaze, and the neighbours flocking to put it out.

14.—One of the men engaged in the Regent's Park robbery—transported for life; now in a hopeful state of mind. These men have severally assured me that that robbery was, as the phrase is, "a put-up one." To explain: There are parties in London, and all great towns, who never themselves rob, but put up others to it, who are house-robbers, for some

valuable consideration. The "putters up" are described to be dismissed men-servants, bell-hangers, plumbers, painters, &c. The rendezvous is some public-house in the vicinity—often to all appearance the most respectable.

15.—A farm-labourer, of good capacity, who, having mastered here the alphabet and the art of reading, had from the library an account of our Protestant martyrs, and being much interested in the subject, asked me several questions in relation to them; one was, *whether I knew Master Ridley!*

16.—The subject of his questions brings to my mind a peculiar case—a man who entered this prison professing not to know his letters, but, after about nine months, he is found reading all books, and asking subtle questions on points supposed by Romanists to be the weakest in the Reformation.

The man had a good conformation of head certainly, and might have imbibed from oral instruction much controversial knowledge, for which there was a great basis; but it is probable that he was a well-educated man, perhaps a Jesuit, in a wrong place by some misadventure, and deceived us.

On all other subjects, but this of controversy, he was silent and profoundly reserved. He made no profession of any change of sentiment.

17.—A hairdresser, transported for seven years for killing his wife, under great provocation on her part; he struck the woman when she was drunk, and she fell and received some injury from which she died. He was a steady man, and an indulgent husband.

The late good Duke of Cambridge, visiting in this prison upon one occasion, happening to be told, when in this prisoner's cell, what the prisoner's crime was, hurried out of it with a characteristic exclamation of great horror.

18.—A licensed hawker—a very clever impostor in his line. He tells freely the tricks of his trade in Sheffield-ware. "Used to sell good articles sometimes, when he succeeded in stealing them." Caught in one of those thefts, and transported.

19.—Another, in the same way of living, dealing in soft goods. Carried on extensive business in pretended contraband French cambric. "Sold once a set of *French cambric* handkerchiefs, in Glasgow, where goods are fabricated for this special purpose, to the manufacturer's wife!"

20.—A groom, dismissed from service. Stole once a horse in the country, valued at a hundred guineas; rode him to town, and, having reason to fear apprehension if he attempted to dispose of it in an ordinary way, cruelly maimed the animal, and sold it in a knacker's yard, as if accidentally injured.

21.—A poulterer. His uncle, he states, in that line, has two sets of agents; one class perambulate a certain quarter of the metropolis, dressed as countryfolk, with "cheap poultry, and manufactured articles, as large old French cocks, changed, by blackening the feet, pressing up the breast, &c., into young turkeys;" the other, with his cart and name, and good fowl. Prisoner has often heard from servants the story of how mistress and master had been

taken in, and what orders were given to deal only with the respectable man who came round with the cart.

22.—A waiter in a hotel, concerned in the robbery of money from a gentleman's portmanteau, left carelessly open, and observed by the chambermaid, who told her gallant, and he, from fear of acting alone, his friend, another waiter. They took the whole amount; but in trying to pass the notes, were detected, and all transported.

23.—A convict, from the public line. His accounts of women frequenting the shop are distressing. "Some, wives and mothers, stand or sit all day long in the shop for gossip, and the chance of a glass."

He does not know what is done with the spirits; but constantly helped "to turn three barrels of beer into four."

A betting-book was kept, contrary to law, and gambling carried on amongst the gentlemen who spent their evenings at the house. "These gentlemen were chiefly shopmen, clerks, &c."

24.—A notorious burglar. This man had broken prison several times, and had committed robberies to an amazing extent. "He never took anything but cash. He has been through houses looking for the cash-box, and not finding it, has taken nothing. Would make purchases in shops suited to his purpose, as where there were elderly people, or other favourable circumstances; would put down a note, and, when the cash-box was brought down, seize it,

rush out, turn the corner, throw away the box, pocket the money, and travel on foot that night, by cross roads, from twenty to thirty miles, and so escape." The strength, agility, and quick perception necessary for such exploits were manifest. I tested his statements, in several instances, in my own neighbourhood, where he occasionally lodged, to all appearance a respectable person.

One man, who kept the "Caledonian Arms," opposite to this prison, I warned, and perhaps saved from being robbed, in consequence of what this prisoner told me of plans laid for that purpose, in which he had taken part, and which he thought would be carried out when the long evenings set in, then just at hand.

I never saw any one more frightened than this publican, when, having sent for him to my office, I told him where his cash-box was, and recommended him to remove it elsewhere forthwith. I believe this prisoner to have been changed, by the grace of God, with others, under the faithful and zealous ministry of the Rev. James Ralph, then senior chaplain of this prison, but now for several years rector of St. John's, Horselydown.

I was not without fear that, when on board ship, being known by so many as a hero in his former line of life, he would be drawn into a recital of his exploits, and so do mischief to others, and, as I warned him, certainly fall back himself; but nothing of the kind occurred. His mind was happily otherwise directed, and he was entirely engrossed with

the salvation of his wife (who had been a partaker in most of his evil deeds), the preservation of an innocent child from infamy, and the having them to him abroad, that he might perform to them a husband and a father's part. With such feelings, he composed prayers suitable for their use, wrote to them most affectionate letters from this place, and since then from Van Diemen's Land. He sent home also two several remittances, amounting to £11, the savings of honest industry. He assured a friend of mine, in Van Diemen's Land, that the first shilling he earned there, in an honest way, was sweeter to him than hundreds of pounds gotten before by dishonest means.

25.—A letter-carrier—for a post-office felony. A man of dissolute and drunken habits; a professed infidel; never read the Bible until he was shut up in this prison. Since his incarceration two of his little children have died. He was very fond of them, with all his faults; and their death seemed to make an impression. He studied Holy Scripture, and professed, at least, belief in Revelation.

26.—A policeman, for highway robbery. Had been dismissed the service for drunkenness. The revelations which this man makes of crime and vice in the metropolis, are appalling.

27.—Another dismissed policeman; transported for a similar offence. No class is exposed to such temptations as the police, directly and indirectly, from first-class robbers, from keepers of infamous houses, publicans, and the allurements of abandoned

women. They are, moreover, overworked, underpaid, and have but little access to the privileges of Christianity.

It is more to be deplored, therefore, than wondered at, that so many become, from being steady, well-conducted men, first, tipplers; then, from the love of drink, not trustworthy, dishonest, criminal; until at last they occupy the place themselves of the prisoner, the felon, and the outcast.

28.—A man convicted of picking pockets in a fair; asserts his innocence, and feels the greatest enmity towards his prosecutor, and all who had a hand in his conviction. His indignation apparently arises from the fact of his being convicted of so low a piece of dishonesty; for he acknowledges that "he attended the place, for a purpose quite as bad, and in bad company"—gambling, of which he was an adept.

29.—I was attracted to this man's cell one evening by a strange sort of rude music, and the movement of the feet in dancing. I entered, and warned him of the consequences if a discipline-officer should hear his performance. No instrument appeared; but a small piece of iron, with which, striking on the different substances of brass, wood, and iron in his cell, ingeniously arranged, he contrived to produce an extraordinary variety of sounds, with a precision of time, sufficient for his purpose of dancing. On inquiring as to his past real employment, I learned that he had been an inferior artist in the theatre.

30.—A native of Scotland, transported for an assault on a female, in a drunken fit. A strange

mixture of cunning and simplicity; intensely longing for liberty, and trying every means to avoid being sent out of the country. In a very soft, whispering tone of voice he once said to me, "It would be as good as a ten-pound note to you, if you got me off."

31.—A keeper of a whisky-shop, in Glasgow, transported, with his wife (whom I saw on board a female convict-ship), for receiving stolen property.

This man made a statement to me about parties in that town, in respectable life, to whom he was in the habit of selling choice articles. I put it before our Board; but the chairman thought, and no doubt correctly, that the Board could not interfere without the risk of an action for a libel for defamation of character.

The same covetousness which leads in low life to theft, gives rise to transactions of this nature in persons of better circumstances.

From this man's account, and others', under some remorse of conscience, I have long since come to the conclusion, that a regular thief is one of the most heartless of wretches. Thus, in a robbery, the produce of which passed through this man's hands, an article, highly prized as a family relic, was taken. Great noise was made about it in the town. *It was burnt to ashes by the thieves in his house*, as the safest course. In the same affair, they allowed a servant-woman in the house to be transported as an accomplice in the robbery, of which, he said, she had not the slightest cognizance, being culpable only in

encouraging an acquaintance with one of the party, whom she took for a respectable person.

32.—A dismissed omnibus-servant, a man respectably connected to my knowledge; concerned in many heavy robberies. Few of this class, however, sink into this condition. The end of their career, as an overworked class, and exposed, by the arrangements of their masters, to the perpetual temptations of the public-house, is more usually premature decay and death, the cab-stand, or absolute pauperism.

33.—A draper's assistant, for embezzlement, the eldest of three brothers, all transported for the same crime: the two younger in another prison. He declares that the young men in that establishment (in the Borough) had no wages, but what they could make over and above the price marked by the masters. "Fourteen or fifteen had been transported from that house."

34.—A person in the wine and spirit trade, transported for forgery; was punished lately for obscene writing in a library book, from which his character may be plainly seen. This man received an excellent education, and is well-connected. In early married life he abandoned his wife, and took up with another woman. He is extremely deaf; and some time back his wife, who, since his desertion of her, has supported herself by honourable industry, brought to the prison *an expensive instrument, purchased from her savings*, to assist his hearing. She had no wish, however, to see him.

35.—An artist; once had paintings in the National

Gallery; he informs his friends, by letter, that he is employed here "in painting, in staring red colour, the letters 'P. P.' on certain articles of convict clothing, for use in Pentonville Prison." This poor man, now fifty years old, assured me, that since his confirmation, in boyhood, he had not been, to the best of his recollection, once to a place of worship, as such, till apprehended. He visited churches abroad, in connexion with his art, assiduously. There is good reason to hope that he has here found peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ. He is really an amiable person, and very grateful for ordinary attention.

36.—A German, for some years resident in England, acting as teacher of his native language to respectable persons.

Virtuously attached to a person rather above his position, and too eager to raise money to begin married life respectably, he caught at some bubble railway speculation, and in the course of a few months became reduced to absolute penury; and in this condition obtained money under false pretences, deluding himself with the idea of making all right in a few days. A less depraved mind, or a better natural disposition, I have never seen in any prisoner. The grace of God, also, has brought to him salvation, I believe, in his deep degradation and misery.

He once consulted me upon the propriety of writing to the person to whom he was engaged. I recommended him to do so, in order to liberate her from difficulties which a delicate sense of honour

might suggest. He did so, in a remarkably becoming manner, and received an equally proper reply, in which, however, *hope was by no means extinguished.* On the contrary, as I interpreted to him the hidden meaning, he was encouraged to think that, if he proved himself a respectable person in Australia, she should like to hear from him again. I am happy to know that he is doing so.

A prince and princess from Germany, visiting this establishment upon one occasion, I introduced their highnesses to this prisoner's cell, that they might learn from him, in the readiest and most unsuspicious form, any particulars they might wish to know.

It was a touching and beautiful sight to see the unrestrained tears flowing down the cheeks of the fair princess, and to observe how the fine, expressive countenance of the poor prisoner was brightened up as he conversed, after so long silence, in the beloved tongue of his fatherland, with the unknown personage.

37.—A man of very ill-favoured countenance; transported for life for attempting to extort money from a gentleman, under a threat of accusing him of a great crime,—a system of villany growing a few years back very rife in the metropolis, but, by a seasonable and prompt severity, in this and some other cases which passed through this prison, almost at once put down. This man, by religious profession a Roman Catholic, was really an infidel. He was occasionally a subordinate actor on the stage; and certainly, whenever necessary to represent the malign

passions of the human breast in a silent living subject, no one could have been better chosen for the part than this poor man. Yet he is by no means past hope.

38.—A medical student; one of a class of which we have had a very large proportion—transported for rebellion in the London Chartist affairs. He was one of their leading orators, most vehement and warlike in tone, but, as he candidly acknowledged to me, prepared to run at the first appearance of danger: "the very sight of a red coat made him afraid."

An unhappy facility for speaking led him to attempt a first flight of public oratory at a Chartist meeting, and, being successful, a boy's ambitious folly inflated him, and extinguished whatever he had of common sense and right feeling. He was a type of others who have suffered in this prison in like circumstances; and my impression certainly is, that however it may be in countries where liberty is oppressed, and real grievances exist, this whole class of disturbers of the peace in this country will always be found as contemptible in deeds as they are terrible in words.

In almost every one of these Chartist cases, there was a heroine. In the case of this young man, there were two. Of one he was the enamoured suitor; but she prudently hesitated to join her fortunes with a convict exile. The other volunteered, as soon as she heard of this hesitancy in her rival, and I believe was accepted. Mr. and Mrs. Cobden showed much

kindness to this youth and his really respectable family, who have, through their means chiefly, been enabled, I understand, to go out to their son in Australia, who will again, I trust, be their comfort and their joy.

39.—A prisoner remarkable for High-Church principles. He came to Pentonville from Leeds. Being a very reserved and downhearted man, I wished to draw him out on some subject of interest, and only succeeded, at the first, upon this one. Being assured by my manner, he expressed himself dissatisfied with our shortening the daily prayers, and substituting hymns and scriptural exposition for the appointed lessons. I urged necessity, and an Act of Parliament allowing this latitude in prisons. Being encouraged to proceed, he objected, with many respectful apologies for his boldness, to a practice which he had observed in myself, of *using the sacred vestment for the purpose of cleaning my spectacles.* The prisoner was relieved from all apprehension of having proceeded too far in his strictures, by the hearty laugh which involuntarily escaped from the ecclesiastical delinquent. The same man subsequently made use of a remark deserving better to be recorded in these pages. When rehearsing the sad history of his embezzlements, and comparing the guilt of the various transactions, he said, "The first shilling was worse than the last pound."

40.—A prisoner of elegant manners and address, now a second time sentenced to transportation for

forgery; educated at Eton, and highly accomplished. In his first crime, he obtained a commutation of sentence, on the ground of innocence as to actual criminal intention, or some such plea. He committed soon again a similar offence. He was not reformed when he left this prison.

41.—Another specimen of the same class; convicted of obtaining money under false pretences. His father, an officer in the army, assisted by his petted boy, had wasted a fine fortune, sold his commission, and used to write from a garret in an obscure street in the West-end, to his son, a felon in this prison. To break the monotony of solitude, and to help to win the young man to better things, he was allowed drawing materials, having considerable talent in that way. Amongst other things, he conceived the idea of a series of sketches of a convict's progress, after the manner of Hogarth's famous illustrations of a kindred subject. As I questioned the usefulness of this, he dropped it. His first was *a representation of himself, driving a female companion in a fashionable cabriolet to the Opera.*

41.—A prisoner, an officer himself in the army, when committed; highly connected, and educated too at Eton. He fell into the same habits, and committed a like crime. In his confinement, nothing could stimulate him to exertion. He was dejected and miserable; and in this condition left for the second stage of convict discipline in Portland, and there died.

Both these cases bring to my mind many others, in which the highest order of secular education, and the strongest inducements to an honourable course, from station, connections, and worldly interest, were not sufficient to preserve the unhappy votary of sinful pleasure and excitement from the commission of acts, by which all these were forfeited for ever.

With respect to these young men, it may be remarked, that their early entrance into life was marked by amiable, *pliant*, and inconsiderate folly, quite as much as by any excessive vicious propensity.

42.—The last cell in this ward of selected prisoners we shall look into (although here out of my order, as to degree of education, position in life, &c.) is that of a very desperate and well-known thief. He was sentenced to transportation for fifteen years, for house-robbery, and a most brutal assault upon a policeman, who effected, however, his capture, on Blackfriars Bridge, as he was proceeding in the bottom of a cart to Epsom Races. This is the man (Hackett) who succeeded in making his escape from this prison, and about whom the public have shown such a marvellous interest. I am far from wishing to revive that interest. I want to draw a moral from it which may find response in quarters where it may do good. The *éclat* given by the press and the public generally to this case, I hold to be extensively mischievous. When divested of the romance, it is painfully instructive. Here was a young man

of more than common ability and aptness for almost any honourable line of industry, who, with ordinary character, must have risen to considerable usefulness and respectability. He turns his parts to the ignominious trade of thieving; is amazingly successful; and although sentenced at length to transportation, escapes out of prison. He is talked of by the public, and looked up to by the thieves of London, as another Jack Sheppard. Well, what is his condition, when thus placed at the head of his class? A fugitive from justice, and an exile from home. He escapes to America, not to begin an honest life in that country, but to rob and thieve there as he did here! And with what result? To be recaptured, and to have,—as I understand from an American gentleman connected with the police in New York,—ten years of terrible solitude in the prison of Philadelphia, and, if ever retaken in this country, to be banished to a penal station for life. His brother, too, following his example, has lately been transported; and his mother, who is said to have boasted, on his conviction, that no prison in London would hold him, has now to weep over two sons lost to her for ever, as well as to society—who, if brought up in the fear of the Lord, might have been her support, her comfort, her crown of rejoicing. Truly, the way of transgressors is hard!

This same man (Hackett) had received once before the sentence of transportation, but, in consequence of his assiduous attention to the sick and dying in Millbank, during the fearful ravages of the cholera, was pardoned.

Refractory Ward Cases.

Under any system of prison discipline, and under the best governors and officers, there will be cases of offence in prisons, and punishment, often very distressing to witness. Humanity, and the force of public opinion, have well nigh disposed of flogging as a punishment for *adults*, and I think rightly; but stern necessity has instituted another really more formidable, viz., solitary confinement in a dark cell, on bread and water. This punishment a governor of a prison may inflict for three days, but the Governing Board for twenty-eight. Having stated in a former chapter my views on this point, I will not here enlarge. Ill-conducted prisoners, in my opinion, have gained nothing by the change from the corporeal infliction, to one which tells upon the mind and the constitution. Prisoners would do well to think of this. To some readers, however, it may appear a very small thing. Let a man make it his own only for one day. Let him imagine himself travelling in *one continuous tunnel*, say, for 24 hours, with no other companions, than a bottle of water and a pound loaf of bread, lying or sitting on a hard wooden seat, and he will have a better idea of the punishment. I have tried the experiment of the dark cell for a little while during one day, and I came out with an increased sense of the terrible nature of the punishment, when prolonged, and with the conviction increased, that, if one day did

not answer the reformatory end of the punishment, three would not; if one week, certainly not four. It is singular to observe, that, comparing the punishments in all the Government Prisons, they are lightest in those governed by military men.

In our own, governed by a civilian, although the law has in no case been exceeded, it has been ever carried out to its utmost limit.

It must be confessed, however, that *some* bear an extreme length of this punishment without much apparent suffering, of which the first in my list of cases is an instance. (The cases are not contemporaneous) :—

1.—This was a young man, sentenced by the Board of Commissioners to seven days in the dark cell, &c., for an outrageous violation of discipline. He maintained a haughty, obstinate spirit to the end. I felt for him—(as a prisoner once beautifully expressed it, speaking of a very bad character, whose doings here he was cognizant of, and whose sore punishment, he knew, would follow) : "*he was somebody's son.*"

This applied particularly to the case before us. He was one of a class of prisoners who furnish no clue whatever as to who or whence they are—leaving the imagination to fill up the sad outline of a dark picture, with the still sadder details of doubt and gloom, which must have been long distressing the hearts of parents, or brothers and sisters, as to the real fate of one whom they may have most tenderly loved. The prisoner in this case was a

well-educated youth; nothing moved him but a reference to his family, and the hope expressed by me that, after all, he might prove the comfort and joy of their hearts.

2 and 3.—These prisoners were punished for three days, for communicating with one another. They had come from Scotland together, and were much attached. The elder had been an infidel, the other a believer in Revelation, and very anxious about his friend, when he became really concerned respecting his own soul. They had talked the matter over when in gaol, in Edinburgh, and when the elder was jeered at by his fellow prisoners for being down-hearted, the young man took his part, and now, being brought close together in our prison, they violated the rules, and had to bear the consequences. Apart from this suffering, it certainly was as pleasant a sight as it was novel, to observe each offering to bear the punishment of the other with his own,—the elder urging that he was first in the transgression, the other, that he was young, and could bear it all.

4.—A gentleman's butler; sent to the refractory ward for feigning insanity: a very clever Irishman, and up to every scheme in service (of which there is a fearful amount). His case was for some time a dubious one. He had shaved his head, abstained from food to an incredible length, and was for hours, without moving, on his knees. It turned out a decided instance of deception. I have seen the man frequently since, at the hulks, and elsewhere.

Nevertheless, it has not always been the case, that

prisoners punished for this crime were really responsible for their actions. For cases at all dubious, nothing is worse, in my opinion, than the dark cell.

One of those dubious cases, which occurred in the early years of the prison, I may here mention, though not punished. Providentially, I entered once the cell of a man who, in ungovernable rage, or, as I think, unaffected madness, struck the warder in my presence, with a heavy piece of wood, so terrible a blow on the head that he was disabled, and in a critical state for weeks, in bed. Before he could repeat the blow, or use his knife, I am thankful to say, I was able to secure him, until help came.

5.—A prisoner punished, for communication, in the refractory ward for three days, whose case may serve as an illustration of others.

This man wept like a child the whole first day, and could not eat. I told our excellent chief warder, then in entire charge of the prison (during the Governor's absence), that the man had suffered as much in one day as others in a week; and he promptly released him, with a decidedly good moral effect.

6.—A gentleman's son, whom I do not describe more particularly, lest it may give pain to his friends, into whose hands these pages may fall; punished for obscene writing, and other communications of a like character. He is depraved, beyond almost any prisoner in the place. Still, the grace of God can change him.

7.—This prisoner was sentenced to three weeks in

the dark cell, for taking a draught of French polish for the sake of the spirit it contained, having access, accidentally, to the place where it was. The consequence was, that he became drunk, and in all respects like a maniac for several hours; disturbing, with his bellowings, the whole prison. It was well that the surgeon was in the prison, or he might have lost his life. His case is an illustration of the baneful habit of drinking.

The last letter this convict wrote to his parents was one deploring the sin, to which he had been addicted, promising better things. In his copy-book I found the same sentiments, with the account of several awful deaths and accidents, through drunkenness, of which he has been witness, as a railway labourer; yet the first temptation to the same sin, which met him even in so repulsive a form, overcame his resolutions. After this, he did no good, and was constantly being punished, intending, evidently, to weary the authorities, that he might be sent out of this prison; until, on one occasion, receiving from the Governor, on my intercession, an unexpected mitigation of punishment, and being subdued by the unexpected kindness to tears, he changed his course, and conducted himself well the remainder of his year.

8.—This man received the sentence of four weeks in the refractory ward, for a desperate attempt to escape. The period, however, was divided by the interval of a month, and he suffered only the first half.

When I went down to see him, he said, "I was

more afraid of your coming than any one." I assured him not to think I came to reproach him, or to add to his punishment. He had committed himself, and must take the consequence. I visited him to do him good, and give him counsel, if he desired it. He told me what induced him to make the attempt, and, in fact, opened his mind freely.

His history was a sad one. From a child, he loved the stable; and was indulged—became a first-rate rider, and almost mad after horses; rode at steeplechases, betted heavily, drank to excess, ruined himself, and brought unmerited disgrace upon a most respectable family.

His conduct during the first fortnight having been most proper, and his strength sensibly diminished, I mentioned his case to the Duke of Richmond, who presided at the next board, and the other half was happily remitted. I acquainted the man with the result, and told him that I was sponsor for his future good conduct. He said I should never be disappointed. And neither was I; only I could wish that he had, poor man, received the grace of God in his heart, which I fear was not the case. One remark which he made to me, I often think of, as an illustration of an important truth, respecting first steps in evil: "I would have given the world to have that *first brick* back in its place."

9.—The case just mentioned brings to mind that of another still wilder son of nature, visited some twenty or thirty days, at different times, in the refractory ward,—a youth of only twenty-one years of

age, and of the peasant class. When a boy this prisoner took to poaching, and the passion for pursuit of all sorts of game grew with his growth, and he became notorious in that species of crime. Thieves have been called the "Arabs of the city." This young poacher was an "Arab of the country." He assured me, and other poachers the same, that he had been more than once employed by game-keepers on ill-stocked property, to bring them game from another, and well paid for it; and that he brought in a cart away, one night, as many as twenty *quick* (live) hares from a distant preserve for this purpose. (Did the keeper pay "ten shillings a piece" for these hares out of his own pocket? If not, who was the chief culprit?)

10.—This man was one of a party of thoroughly bad men, sent back to separate confinement from the public works, in consequence of mutinous conduct. I have seen him more than once storming and raging in his cell, threatening, with awful oaths, to murder some one in this place. I have stopped with him until he became calm, and then, in gentle voice, expostulated with him, apparently with some effect. But he would break out again, after a while, as bad as ever, and get punished. "He was somebody's son;"—and hereby hangs a tale, which, told to me in the dark cell, when I was trying to move his heart, brought tears, I confess, to my own eyes. He had been transported once before, when a youth, and having served his term in Bermuda, returned to Dover, his native place, dressed and looking like a

weather-beaten sailor. He first went to a public house which his father used to frequent, and there, as he expected, he found him, and fell into conversation about foreign parts,—the old man inquiring about Bermuda, and the condition of convicts there, where he had an unfortunate son, &c. The prisoner then left the public house, and went and bought some articles in a little shop which his mother kept, without being recognised by her. Instead, however, of walking out, he went into the parlour, and sat down by the fire; but even then she did not know him, but tartly accosted him: "Really, my man, you are making yourself very comfortable!" Whilst this talking was going on, his sister, listening from up-stairs, recognised the voice, and ran down, crying out, "It surely is our own Bill!" And so it was. The lost one was found. But, alas! not for long: that very night he went out to see some old *friends*. Nothing would stop him. His mother said, "Then the next I shall see of you will be in gaol." His *friends* that night were preparing for a robbery. He joined in—had to fly—was apprehended—brought back to Dover—convicted—and transported for *life;* and a broken-hearted father, mother, and loving sister bid him farewell in Dover Gaol, never to see him more.

It may here be added, that I saw the two last-mentioned men on board the convict-ship *Eliza*, with about forty others of like character, destined for Norfolk Island, as incorrigible men. Not a few of those men were, as may have been already gathered,

very desperate and murderously inclined. There was more than usual precaution, therefore, in berthing them on board ship, and securing them against the power of combination and mutiny. They were divided into three compartments, strongly fortified, and a sentry was posted continually outside. It being desirable to allow them daily some exercise and air on deck, it was decided to be necessary that they should be placed in irons. Before the irons were put on, I wished to converse with, and bid farewell to, the men, and visited for the purpose one division; and having spoken some solemn words of parting admonition to them, I proposed prayer, and they all knelt as well as they could, in the confined place around me. In the other divisions I did the like, with the same result. Surely God has given to his servants power over even the wicked for good. I confess that I was afraid when going down to the ship and when first shut in with the men, not of personal violence, but of contemptuous rejection of my message: I came away abashed, by the result, at the weakness of my faith.

The Visiting Room.

Every convict is allowed to see his friends once in six months, for twenty minutes, unless deprived of the privilege by misconduct. The ordinary place for the interview has been described. When about to be removed to a foreign station only, the visit is permitted to take place in the same room, as a parting

one. At the visiting hour there may be, at times, seen assembled at the prison gates, waiting for admission in turn, a crowd of the friends and relatives of prisoners. Under the old regulations, this used to be very great when an embarkation was suddenly ordered. In that crowd may be easily observed doubtful *female relatives*, designated (without any power of disproof on our part) sisters, cousins, wives; friends, too, who have been used to such visits elsewhere; but mixed up with these, alas! many of respectable character.

There stands a family group, such as has often brought tears to my own eyes,—the hoary-headed father leaning on his staff; the disconsolate mother, and the weeping sisters and brothers of a convict. They are of the peasant class; and have come a long and (to them) expensive journey. They have denied themselves many necessaries to accomplish this journey; and one of the girls, in service, has from her savings largely contributed. No one in the family had such good prospects, at one time, as the convict. All are overwhelmed with the sight: for minutes, nothing is heard but sobbing and crying.

Next stands the worse than widowed wife, with her group of children—so young, that they are sad only because mother is sad; or, are even playful, presenting the strangest contrast to the place and company around. But near to them are children who remember well their father; who saw him taken roughly out of the house by the police; who heard his sentence pronounced by the judge, and

knew its terrible meaning by their mother's scream. They are admitted; they can, however, only see and talk with the prisoner; there can be no fond embrace—no kiss. What a pity one thinks, that they have come!

The wife and mother of a convict, having taken farewell of the prisoner, request to see the chaplain. In the county gaol from which he came, the wife being admitted to an interview of this kind, supplied the prisoner with means to attempt his escape. It was discovered; she suffered imprisonment for the offence herself. He was placed in irons for several months, night and day, in a cold winter, and dreary prison. A finer-looking couple could not be seen than this unhappy pair. The mother had long wept over the folly and sin of them both, to no purpose; they were given to pleasure. Under the impression that here her son was brought to Christ, she comes to offer to me a very costly Bible, as a token of gratitude. I am compelled to refuse the kindness. I hold it to be extremely culpable in any superior officer of a prison to receive presents from prisoners' friends, of any value, under any plea whatever. The doing so, on the part of the subordinate, would lead, and very properly, in my judgment, to his instant dismissal. Prisoners' friends, and others, should know this. Coming to inquire concerning him, subsequent to his location in the colonies, they brought a diamond ring, with the same purpose, and pressed my acceptance; but I was compelled to pain their feelings by refusal.

By way of digression; in the ancient Republic of Rome the finger-ring of gold was a sign of the *ordo equestris*,—a rank corresponding with that of members of our House of Commons, officers in Her Majesty's service, and the like. It is not certain what civil rank the priests had, or whether it would have been conceived presumptuous or unseemly in them to wear such appendages; but it is very clear, that a young Roman, holding no office in the state, nor command in the army, nor affianced to nobility, who would strut along the *Via Sacra* (the Regent-street of Rome in those days), displaying his hand ornamented in this way, would have been considered a presumptuous upstart or effeminate simpleton. In our age of enlightenment and Christianity, however, it is not uncommon to see shopmen, clerks, and apprentices so embellished! In this prison, we have seen, after a course of profligate folly, many a hand, once ornamented in this style, scouring the prison floor, mending turnkeys' clothes, darning their own stockings, or rubbing in the wash-tub their fellow-prisoners' shirts and flannels. Young men should know that instead of raising themselves in respectability by affecting the fashions of a class above their own, they are taking one of the readiest ways to lose that which really belongs to them, and which is awarded by all sensible people to those who know their proper position, and discharge its duties.

To return to my sketches. The next who ascends the steps of the prison, to see the object of her affections, now degraded to the condition of a felon, is

the widowed lady of an officer who fought at Waterloo. She lived in a garrison town; and her only son was, unhappily, introduced to a regiment, the junior officers of which were addicted to gambling and every fashionable vice. His course was short, but it embraced the miseries of an ordinary long life; and was followed by the convict's doom. Ask this young man what is now his greatest privation. I asked him the question once; he said, "The absence of my toilet!" True or false, how pitiable such a moral prostration! Perhaps it is true: he is full of vanity and self-conceit even now; and morally and physically depraved by wine, women, and dissipation of every kind. *He has a ring on his finger*, woven from material with which he is obliged to work in his cell!

There is another request to see the chaplain. A lady, from New York, has crossed the Atlantic, now the second time, to see her sister's son, a convict, with some expectation of getting him off. She has strange stories about the youth, and the chaplain has had much confidential correspondence about his parentage. The tale is a romance, but shall never be divulged. Her journey is in vain: "she is informed, "the convict must pass through the ordinary course." O Sin! what misery thou hast created in this one case. She takes the grandmother, by whom the boy was nursed, to America with her; and if the young man lives to the expiration of his sentence, she will have him too, she says, in her house. Would that it were a pious home! but,

with all this generosity, there is not the least indication of religion.

After all, this person did not exhibit so much self-denial as others to my knowledge. She was wealthy, had no dread of the sea, and found even pleasure in visiting our metropolis.

I remember an instance of more single-minded affection. We had here once, a prisoner from Yorkshire, a married man, who, I have no doubt, with all his faults, loved tenderly his wife. No man could have done otherwise. She was the model of a wife, in her station—in dress, manner, and general appearance. Three times this faithful creature came from beyond Hull to see her husband for a scanty twenty or thirty minutes, having worked at factory labour almost night and day in order to accomplish it. I told this man, in his cell: "You will deserve a worse punishment than your present one, if you don't make that woman happy yet, when you shall have it in your power." "Yes," said he, "I shall richly deserve it. If I had been ruled by her advice, and kept at home, instead of going to the cursed public-house, I should not now be a convict in Pentonville."

Sometimes respectable persons—masters, employers, Sunday-school teachers—visit prisoners. Peers of the realm have not disdained thus to show kindness to the fallen. The Earl of Carlisle, when Lord Morpeth, frequently visited one of our prisoners. The first time he came, after some correspondence with the chaplain, he happened not to be provided with an order to see the prisoner in his cell; and

when I mentioned the matter to the Governor, that gentleman judged that he had no discretion in the matter. I suggested that, if his lordship had no objection, he might have an interview with the prisoner in the ordinary way, as *one of the prisoner's friends:* he immediately assented, and in this humble manner visited the convict that time. I do hope all the kindness shown to the man (I have told but a part) was not thrown away.

In this honourable connexion, I would mention the pious zeal of a true Christian of the Wesleyan body, who used to come to town to see a young man, one of our convicts, formerly in his Sunday school. He did more; he followed the wayward, erring youth with constant, believing prayer, until, as I have every reason to think, the sinner was brought earnestly to seek the Lord; and, since his discharge, received him as a father, having got a situation for him, &c.

It has been intimated that doubtful characters come to see prisoners. They are sometimes worse than ambiguous. I recollect a convict, a man truly reformed, as I believe, being greatly distressed by the visit of an old accomplice—a man of very respectable appearance in dress. The prisoner felt it kind in his friend, at some personal risk, to come, and therefore did not request to be withdrawn; but he felt greatly distressed during the interview, and begged it might not be repeated.

I remember being sent for by a prisoner (already mentioned—No. 24), as I had wished him to do when in any trouble or excitement. He had just

had a visit from his wife and daughter, who were, he said, in deep distress. I gave him my sympathy and counsel, and stopped with him some considerable time. His temptation, first, when he returned to his cell, was to self-destruction, but the awfulness of the crime appalled him. He then thought of attempting his escape, and plans before successfully tried crossed his mind. He hesitated, and happily sent for me, told all that was in his heart, and found relief.

About two years back I saw on board a convict-ship a prisoner, who having been sent, some years ago, from this prison to Australia, with a ticket-of-leave, and rising there to the conditional-pardon class, came back before the expiration of his sentence, and was detected, tried, convicted, and re-transported. That young man's poor mother often visited him here, and corresponded with me about him. It is painful to think, that she was sister of no less a person than the successful defender of Acre against Bonaparte, Sir Sidney Smith; and that this reckless young man, by his misdeeds, had forfeited all the advantages of such a connexion in following the profession of his uncle.

About three years back, a poor woman, in deep distress, requested to see me. Her tale was a long one, but such as no heart could shut out. Her husband, an invalided soldier of the Life-guards, had been transported from South Wales for horse-stealing. She declared that he had never an idea of stealing the horse, but in a drunken frolic took it

from the roadside, and rode it a good many miles to the place where she and their baby were lodged, intending to return on the same to his "job of work" at a railway. He was pursued and taken. The convict told me the same tale, and he certainly doted on this young woman. Both were Irish. The prisoner was never of strong mind; and perpetual fretting about his wife and child at last unhinged it altogether, so that when she reached her destination, travelling, child in arms, on foot, her husband was a maniac. To my lot it fell to break the sad news to the poor wife, and to find shelter and employment for her, that she might be saved from beggary, or a much worse fate, in London; for she had a good personal appearance.

We have had lately, also, a very sad interview. The aged father, sister, and wife of a young man from Exeter, well known in that city. Dissipated, extravagant, and covetous, he committed the grave crime of firing his premises, to defraud an Insurance Company, and received the terrible sentence of transportation for *life*. His relatives came to bid him a long and last farewell, as he was about to be sent to the public works in Gibraltar. The scene quite overcame me. I had for a while to leave.

Yet the recollection of that parting does not oppress my mind with such sadness as another to which I now refer. In that case there was hope that the profligate, in his degradation and misery, had sought and found peace with God. In this there was no such relief. The condemned one, a gentle-

man by birth and station, is brought into my room by the officer, and, to spare feeling, the chaplain volunteers to act as the officer at the interview. The father hastened towards his son, and literally "fell on his neck and kissed him."

"Here," thought I, "is a picture from life of the father in the parable; but where are the tears of contrition, the acknowledgment of sin, the cry for mercy, from the prodigal?" Unmoved, shedding no tear, expressing no remorse, the young man stands erect, and, anxious only about his liberty, inquires what interest is being used to get him off. He became worse, after that interview, more proud, more troublesome. A father's forgiveness, without the son's contrition, had seemingly a bad effect.

LETTERS.

1. *From a Sunday School Teacher to the Chaplain.*

"Rev. Sir.—A short time since I visited a prisoner in Pentonville Prison, and had a very interesting interview with him. I have known him for several years, and being a teacher in the Sabbath-school with which he was connected, and also a member of the same church as his parents are, I have felt individually interested in him long before his committal to prison. My object in writing to you is to make you more intimately acquainted with the state of his mind, as, having known his previous habits, and being on more familiar terms with him from long acquaintanceship, he has made known to me, most probably, more fully than he would to you, the state of his soul.

"The parents of this youth are deeply anxious about his spiritual welfare, and feel very thankful for the kind interest you manifest toward the prisoners. Their son has spoken, in his letters to them, most affectionately and thankfully of the interest

you manifest for his spiritual welfare. Would you, dear and rev. sir, direct your especial attention to him in your next visit, if convenient, and question him very closely to ascertain the real state of his mind, as he may need especial counsel and encouragement, if seeking earnestly for pardon and reconciliation with God?"

2. *From a Gentleman concerning his Brother.*

"My dear Sir,—I thank you very truly for your kind and Christian letter to me about my brother. I have, of course, been very unhappy on his account, and I'm afraid any interference on my part would only unsettle him, and bring him no relief. I think the longer he is kept from drink, the greater is the probability that he will turn well hereafter. I hope he is not incapable or undesirous of receiving religious impressions, in which case his term of imprisonment may turn out to be the best thing that ever happened to him. He will have time to think, to get the better of his passion for drink. Nothing could cure him but forcible detention from it. His was the severest sentence I recollect ever to have read. Poor fellow! he has been sinned against as well as sinning. By the time he will leave the country, I hope something will be done for him to make his condition more tolerable. I am very anxious to know the state of his mind; and if I may venture to make the request, I shall be thankful if you will tell him to write fully to me, and let me know his wishes and plans."

3. *From a Clergyman, about two Youths.*

"Reverend Sir,—When I mention that I have a poor parishioner who, in addition to a painful and incurable disease, is suffering great mental anxiety in consequence of two of his sons being under sentence of transportation, but now confined in Pentonville Prison, and very desirous of ascertaining what progress they are making towards repentance and amendment of life, I trust you will pardon my intruding upon your time, and kindly inform me if there is any hope of their ultimate reformation."

4. *From a Gentleman in Devonport.*

"The prisoner's father is an old inhabitant of the town, and for a great number of years was a faithful servant in the employ-

ment of one master. At the time of the prisoner's apprehension he had also a mother and a sister. The latter had for some time been afflicted with a disease of the heart; *and the excitement consequent upon the prisoner's apprehension caused her death almost immediately. The mother also died very shortly after, her death being accelerated, as it was supposed, by the prisoner's disgrace.* The whole family universally bore a good character.

"The prisoner became known to me for the first time upon being introduced to me by his father, to serve whom I was instrumental in getting the prisoner appointed at the Post-office. I have understood, since his commitment, that the prisoner was just about to be married; and I fear was tempted to commit the crime in the eager desire to acquire money to settle himself."

Subsequently I had the painful duty of announcing to this prisoner the death of his father.

The following may serve to show how the blessings of the Gospel may be extended, by its reception in the heart of even an outcast member of a family:—

5. "I hope," writes the clergyman of the parish, "you have had satisfactory evidence of the reality of the conversion of this prisoner; if so, I shall rejoice. Of one thing I am certain: his letters to his parents have, under the blessing of God, produced a very favourable change in his family, which was a terror to the village. Several of the younger branches of the family attend my day and Sunday-schools, and behave with great propriety, both at school and at church. His parents are frequently to be seen in the house of prayer."

6. *From the Surgeon of a Convict Ship.*

"You will find in the paper a brief allusion to H. E. from Pentonville, and W. M. from Wakefield, who, while in the grasp —apparently the deadly grasp—of cholera, were able to rejoice in Christ Jesus as their refuge and their strength, in whom they were persuaded they had believed, to whom they had both dedicated themselves while in prison, to whom death appeared to have lost all his terrors, and who were, in the midst of agonies endured during the terrific progress of the disease, filled with the joys of salvation, and cheered by the blessed hope of seeing

Jesus as he is, and of soon being like him. Their spirit and carriage, ever since they were brought out of the furnace, has been in accordance with the blessed hope that maketh not ashamed."

7. *From a Prisoner in Associated Labour.*

"Reverend Sir,—I had been thinking during the week of partaking of the Lord's Supper; but Satan knew my thoughts, and suggested to me what scorn and ridicule I should have to contend with from my unconverted fellow-prisoners. Some would say I was an hypocrite, especially those who had known me formerly. I then felt and said that I should be ashamed, forgetting our blessed Saviour's words, 'For whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed when he shall come in his own glory and in his Father's, and of the holy angels.' I then gave up all thoughts of it; but I could not rest. I thought, I cannot love my Saviour, or I should not hesitate for a moment. I then spoke to one of my fellow-prisoners who had received the Lord's Supper, and to another one who could not receive the Lord's Supper, because he had not been christened; and we talked of the danger of neglecting so great salvation. I entered into conversation with one of them on the Saturday in question; and I do believe that God did make that poor man the instrument, in His hands, of bringing it home to my soul, and telling me that I must either give up all my sins and all my wicked companions, or lose my Saviour. I fully resolved from that moment to devote myself to God's service. When I came to myself, I prayed to God, and for the first time I believed my prayer was heard. God grant that I may be enabled for the future to live a godly life."

8. *From a Prisoner on the Public Works in Portland.*

"I am pleased to say, that my stay here has done much towards recruiting my health, and fitting me to undergo the long voyage now before me. Though all my hopes and expectations for obtaining a pardon, and returning to my native land, have proved vain, it has pleased God to give me strength to bear my disappointment. It is needless for me to speak here in

terms of praise of our most excellent chaplain, Mr. Moran, and to tell you how much he has done towards mitigating my trials, and keeping alive in me the good resolutions taken when surrounded by less temptations than we are here. I have, too, met with two or three fellow-prisoners, with whom I have been able to make hard work not only pleasant to myself, but to most of the gang. Altogether, I am happy to say that the general character and demeanour of the prisoners is different from what I feared it to be. It is but seldom one hears a curse or vulgar word; very often religion is made the subject of conversation, in spite of the ridicule of the few. I cannot speak in too high terms of commendation of that liberal and humanizing system by which the poor prisoner, when secluded from the world, is enabled to pass his hours of solitude by reading. You would be pleased, sir, to hear men here, of whom you might least expect it, saying how happy they were by reading this or that particular book when in solitary confinement. It is here where the benefit of that system becomes most evident."

9. *Letters from Convicts in Australia.*

"Reverend Sir,—I beg to be excused for taking the liberty of addressing myself to you; but I feel it my bounden duty to return you my sincere and humble thanks for all the instruction and many good advices I have received from you, which I hope have not been altogether in vain. Since my arrival in this colony I have had an opportunity of observing the general conduct of many of the first P. P. exiles, and I am happy to say that *many* seem to have profited by their late afflictions, and to live an upright and honest life. But, on the other hand, I am sorry to say, that *some* appear to be almost past recovery, and to have forgotten all the good resolutions and the many solemn promises made whilst in their solitary cell. The same is to be observed in the case of my own shipmates. Some keep the narrow path which they entered first, perhaps under your instruction and guidance, and others have thrown off all regard for religion, and fear neither God nor man. Be not discouraged in your good work, but persevere, putting your trust in the Lord; for your labour shall not be in vain in the Lord."

10. "Dear Mother and Relations,—I write these few lines, hoping they will find you all well, as they leave me. I have now

been in this colony six months, and I have seen a little of the Bush. My next-door neighbour is three miles off, where we are obliged to go two or three times a day often, upon any little errand; but three miles are thought no more here than 300 yards in England. I very seldom see any fresh faces. In Britain, the merry church-bells are to be heard on Sundays in all directions, but here there are no churches, only in the towns, and they are few and far between. I am at present upwards of sixty miles from a church, and thirty miles from the nearest place of worship, which is a Mission Station. *The natural result of the absence of places of worship is, that there is very little difference between Sunday and another day. It is a common saying, that Sunday don't cross the Breakwater (which is a bridge near Corio); but public-houses are to be met with in all directions, and they are the ruin of hundreds in this colony,* wine and spirits being very cheap. The man and woman living at the next station to mine are almost as father and mother to me; she is from Ambwlch, in Wales. Our stillness is often interrupted by the appearance of the native blacks, and a strange sight it is to us—some with blankets, some naked—men and women together with their spears and other weapons in their hand—and some with a little child on their back, one with a dog, another a cat, surrounding the hut, begging for a bit of bread, flour, or anything; and if anything be in the way, they 'll take it. They are very active, and can throw their spears upwards of 300 yards as straight as a line. My kind respects to all my friends and relations, hoping to see them yet all well. I intend, if spared, to write once in four months, and I beg you to do the same.—I remain your loving and affectionate Son."

11. "Dear ———, John and I have travelled many thousand miles since we last saw you at Woolwich, but we are still togr. and under the same master. Our mode of life is very different here to what we have ever been used to. The heat is excessive, as it is summer with us now. Our bedding is a few sheep's skins and wool bags to lay on, with a blanket to cover us, but we sleep as soundly as if we were reclining on the softest pillow. The blacks around us are very ignorant and degraded; they do not appear to have any idea of a God. I heard one of the 'lubras,' that is, women, sing 'Hallelujah, praise the Lord.'

She had no idea of the meaning of it; she had heard 'white fellow corrobara like it that,' or sing it in that manner. She asked us if it was 'merry gig,'—very good.

"We are under a pretty good master. We often talk of home, and of those who are dear to us; and we long for that time, which we hope will soon arrive, when we shall be able to return to our native land, and to our dear friends.

"I am sorry to say this is a land of great depravity, so that a young man has great need to keep a strict watch over himself, and continually to seek for grace to help in time of need. I hope and trust we shall be kept from going astray again. We have one great disadvantage, that is, we have to go out with the sheep on Sunday as well as on other days; but we can take our Bibles with us, that is a blessing."

12. Reverend Sir,—Had I remained in England I could not have ventured to address you lest I should be suspected of having other motives than the one I have in view, which is to convey to you the sincere thanks of a grateful heart for the interest you took, and in your prayers, I have no doubt, will continue to take, in our eternal welfare and happiness; and I feel confident it will not be among the least of consolations on your dying bed, that the Almighty graciously vouchsafed to incline your heart to sacrifice your social comforts, and, in some degree, your happiness, to mix among the poor prisoners, and to bring home the glad tidings of peace and deliverance to the unhappy, to sympathize with the wicked and unhappy, and to point us to a gracious Saviour, and assure us God is a very present help in trouble—to proclaim liberty to the captive, and to open the prison-doors of our minds, and point us to the redeeming blood of the Lord Jesus Christ.

"I feel confident your pious efforts have not been in vain; but that many a heart has been melted and moved under your discourses that had neither the power nor the opportunity to express their feelings. Continue, dear sir, to go forward in your work. Trust the Almighty, who can and will, in his own good time, bring forth a hundredfold. It may probably occur to your mind to ask how the writer came to take the liberty to address you. I will tell you, sir. I am aware that the very best men are apt to become discouraged at the seeming hope-

lessness of the cause in which they may have embarked their most anxious hopes. It is this consideration, coupled with the sincere desire that my fellow-prisoners should not lose the benefit of any future exertions you may employ in your work of mercy in their behalf, either in your prayers, or in books of instruction, that has induced me to do so. I feel confident you will pardon the manner for the sake of the matter. It may not be uninteresting to you to hear a few words that more immediately concern the unhappy person that addresses you, as we shall, most probably, never see each other any more in this world.

"I had the very great privilege to be born of very pious parents, whose anxious endeavour it was to train me up in the paths of piety and virtue; but, notwithstanding all their prayers and all their care, I lived the greatest part of my life in open rebellion against my God, and though scarcely a day passed without my receiving some special mercy at the hands of my indulgent Maker, still all this was without effect, and at last I was given up to my wicked heart, and finally to the commission of crime, which has brought punishment and infamy on myself, and misery and disgrace on all my friends. Yet, even in this dire place, at the thought of which, in happier days, my heart would recoil with horror, I have been enabled to view the bitter anguish and folly of my mis-spent life. In conclusion, allow me, dear sir, to express a hope that the Almighty may be graciously pleased to prolong your life, and bless you with health and increase of success in the cause of humanity; and late, very late in life, may He receive you to Himself, finally to mix with that happy number unto whom it should be said, on the last day of account, 'Come, ye blessed children of my Father, receive the kingdom prepared from the foundation of the world.'

"Dear sir, I have written several letters to my friends, and have received no answer from them as yet; if you would forward a line to them, stating that I am alive, I would feel greatly obliged."

13. *Letter from this Convict's Parents.*

"Dear honoured Sir,—We take it very kind and condescending of you to write to such poor, insignificant people as we are,

but it was a great comfort to us to hear that our poor misguided son had received spiritual and temporal comforts from you, and that he had profited from them, and likewise that he did gratefully acknowledge it. We also beg of thee to accept our unfeigned thanks for the same, and am happy to inform you that we have received two letters from him, and we have answered them both. One was posted on the 4th of April, and the other on the 28th of May, 1847, following; who knows but he may have got one by this? His uncle assures us that he has freely forgiven him, and believes that what he did was done at the moment without thought or consideration, and assures him that the proceedings went on without his knowledge or consent, as he was not at home. We only pray that every privation, disappointment, and painful feeling, may be sanctified for good to the soul."

14. *Letter to a Prisoner from a Brother.*

"I can assure you, my dear brother, that I have felt very much pleased and happy in my mind, from the remark you made in one part of your letter, respecting what I said to you when I saw you, about going abroad; and *in case that you are sent away, I certainly will sell my business and go with you, for I can assure you, the day that you were unfortunately convicted, I made up my mind that I would go with you whenever you went, and I have never altered my thoughts since.*

"I have thought of you continually, and have prayed for you many a night and morning to the Lord, to give you health and strength to bear up under your affliction, so that you might once more have a brother that ever will assist you, and give you good advice, as I trust you will now feel that I always endeavoured to do so when we were in London together. And I deeply lament, my dear erred brother, that the society you fell into, and the persons you came in close contact with, when unhappily I was not by to direct you, were of such a contaminating nature, that your youth and inexperience fell a prey to their wiles and devices, for your corruption, in which, alas! they so far succeeded by Divine permission, perhaps to teach not only you, but all of us, how frail a foundation we stand upon, when our walk is not close to Him.

"I hope, my dear brother, this will find you still in good health, and of as much happiness as your present lot of privations will admit.

"One thing I feel assured will be a great comfort to you, and that is, the undiminished affection not only of myself, but of that of all the rest of your family. Be assured you are ever in our thoughts, and our prayers ever directed to the throne of grace in your behalf: and we do most fully trust that the Lord, having been so far gracious unto you as to let you see the error of your ways, will still go on to perfect his good work in you, and will, in his own good time, once more restore you to the bosom of your family."

15. *From a Captain in the Army to a Convict Soldier.*

"My dear ——, I was very much gratified by the receipt of your letter. If we have had any differences of opinion as to the light on which all the events of your conduct should be viewed, this letter has set them all at rest in my mind. I rejoice indeed to think that it has pleased the Holy Spirit to give you a right understanding and a penitent heart.

"I still hope you will be able to succeed in remaining at home; what delight it would give to your aged parents, to return to them regenerated, and anxious to support them!

"Should it please God to let me arrive in England, you may rest assured that I will not allow many days to pass before I present myself at Pentonville, to see you again. I say, should it please God, for at present I am under deep sorrow and affliction for the loss of my only brother, who was cut down in the prime of life in a far country, without a human being near him to whom he could speak—and with his heart full of joy, on his way home from a service of six years in India.

"He was a brother, too, whom in all things I preferred before myself, even giving to him, or rather forcing on him, the landed inheritance of my father, as being more worthy to occupy it than myself. I tried to build up for him a house here below, but God, in his mercy, I trust, promoted him to an inheritance in the heavens. No wonder, then, that at this moment I am ever thinking of the uncertainty of human life. I have heard a sermon indeed, which, I trust, has made an impression that I must habitually bear about me,—the remembrance that it may be my turn next.

"He was young and strong; you are young and strong; but it may be your turn next. The messages in your letter have

all been delivered. And I could not refrain from placing the letter itself in the hands of some of the men. Sergeant M——, now the senior sergeant here, told me that it was the general wish of the men to have their remembrance sent to you.

"The men have been behaving well, and we have had but few court-martials for a long time past. Oh! may the Lord keep and preserve you from backsliding! And now, truly hoping that I may see you again, and also doing myself the pleasure of hearing from the lips of your chaplain an account of your exemplary conduct in prison, ..."

16. *Letter to a Convict from his Brother, a Clergyman.*

"I would not contrast our situations for any other purpose than to show you the truth of the promises of God, and to beg you to think of them. We were once in the same condition precisely; at another time you were far better off, and I was deep in misery and sin; but it pleased God to give me a sense of my danger, and the religious principle, which was not quite extinct within me, and which I (and I hope I may say *we*) derive from our beloved mother, was awakened and revived within me. From that time to the present, God's hand has been upon me for good, and why has it not been upon you? Because you have profaned his name and his word; and his face is against them that do evil. If ever there was a proof of the truth of God's Word, it is in our respective conditions at this moment.

"Religion is *real*—it is no fiction—no mere idea, but a fact—a thing to be marked, noted, and experienced like other facts, and this you may one day be brought to feel. You may find, too, how true it is that God desires not the death of a sinner, and may you also feel that he has abundantly pardoned you. Keep your mind calm; pray to Him: there was a time when you did so. Many a sinner, in former days, stricken with the sense of his wickedness, has confined himself in the deepest solitude,—perhaps in a desert, perhaps in some such a cell as you now inhabit,—and has there, in penitence and prayer, humbled himself before his God, and been forgiven. Suppose yourself to be such a man—make use of the opportunity which mercy has forced upon you, and you will come abroad again into the world with new feelings and a new heart, for you will be a new creature, and then we will worship God together. . . .

"May it please God to bless and keep you, and enable you so to employ your now solitary hours, that when you again mix in the traffic and activity of life, you may be so thoroughly fortified by his grace, that you may recover lost time. Look back upon the past with sorrow, but to the future with hope, and live to the glory of God and your own salvation."

17. *To a Convict from his Daughter.*

"Many a secret prayer has risen to God while here on your behalf. Dear father, think not you are forgotten; words cannot express what my heart feels. Dear father, I would willingly relinquish my many comforts to be companion in your solitude, sharer of your sorrow, and bearer of your burden, but at present such is not the will of our heavenly Father.

"Dear father, you said right, that you had left a happy home, —ours was worthy the name of home; and truly you have a loving family. How could it be otherwise? The training we got was to love one another with a pure heart, and God supremely."

[The prisoner to whom this is addressed is in course, I trust, of proving his innocence. My own impression is, that he is not guilty.]

18. *To a Convict from his Sister, a Servant.*

"Dear Brother,—It is with sorrowful heart that I take up my pen to write a few lines in answer to your letter. It grieves me very much to think of your unhappy state, and often do I shed tears when I think of you, and, moreover, that you are still unconverted. The soul is of more value than the body; therefore, dear brother, let me beg of you not to neglect your soul. What are the sufferings of the present world when compared with the torments of hell? Although your sufferings may be severe, yet it is a consolation to know they will not last for ever; but the soul must live for ever in endless happiness or endless woe. Let me entreat of you to live every day as 't were your last. Oh! how would a sinner plead for mercy, if he knew that he had but one day longer to live! Therefore, live in continual preparation for death, as we know not what a day may bring forth. If we have found peace with God, and are found ready when it shall please him to call us, oh! how welcome will the message be when it comes to set our captive soul at liberty from these prisons of

day! and angels will convey us to our Father's house, where our souls shall ever be at rest; where we shall see our Saviour as he is, and praise him as we ought.

"Perhaps you are ready to say that your sins are too great to be forgiven. No, my brother! for the blood of Jesus cleanseth from all sin. 'Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.' (Isaiah i. 18). And again, 'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' (Matt. xi. 28). And again, 'Whosoever cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast them out."

"Dear brother, come, then, and embrace the promise, while it is offered to you. Come to-day; to-morrow may be too late—now is the accepted time, this is the day of salvation. Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved. All things are possible to him that believeth. Take it then. I believe that Jesus died for me. Yes, brother, he died for you, that you might live. Put your trust in him; call upon him; he will hear and answer your prayer, and out of every temptation he will make a way for your escape. Don't listen to the enemy of your soul, nor to the advice of bad men; but do your duty to God and man, and I doubt not but all things will work together for your good. I shall still remember you at the throne of grace; and if we do not meet on earth, I hope and pray we shall meet in heaven, to part no more. I now commit you to the care of my heavenly Father; may he keep you, and guide you through life, and at last receive you into his heavenly kingdom.

Letters from Convicts in this Prison.

19. "My dear Sister,—My dear Margaret, I wish you would return to your Sunday-school; have you done any good since you left it? I don't think you have.

"You may for a short time have false enjoyment in idle pleasure on the Sabbath, but it will not last. I ought to be a warning to you in that particular. I was, and all of us were doing well until we disregarded the Sabbath. What has been the consequence? I have become a felon and an outcast; I have brought you to shame and misery. Do you gain anything by stopping away? No; but you spend that, if valued, would keep good and

warm clothing on you. I have been reckoning what we have spent in folly these five years—the sum would astonish you; I hope you will return to the Sunday-school again.

"I hope Daniel is a good boy, and sincerely hope he does not go to the theatre as he used to do. I consider that was my ruin here in London. There he will get acquainted with bad company, and will get on by degrees until he gets where I am. I hope he will take warning by my folly, and think of me when I am in a distant land, perhaps never to see any of you any more in this world."

20. "My dear Friend,—If the worst happens, and I am sent abroad, I must submit; but had I a choice, I would prefer instant death.

"I request Mr. G. will deliver to you immediately on receipt of this, *my diamond ring, diamond pin, watch, gold chain, &c.*"

21. "My dear Father,—I have just come from chapel, and have heard promising and joyful hopes for poor sinners like myself, from the text, 1 Peter v. 6, 7.

"Oh that I should ever have caused tears to flow down your cheek, and brought you to see me in prison, a guilty criminal!"

22. "Dear Friends,—Do not, I entreat you, distress yourself on my account. Although my confinement and solitude since my committal (now twenty months) have been a severe punishment, deprived as I have been of intercourse with every person except the authorities and officers set over me (for here one prisoner cannot even see another to distinguish his features, much less to speak), I can without hesitation declare, that I would not exchange this state of trial for that in which some of my years have been passed in affluence and voluptuousness.

"I feel now the importance of being a Christian indeed, I can now say, it is good for me that I have been afflicted. Having no hope of seeing you again in this world, and not thinking I shall be able to write, I must take leave of you, commending you from this time forward to God, and the word of his grace. May the Lord bless and keep you! May he give you that peace and joy which the world cannot take away!"

23. "Dear Friend,—You cannot but have learned (to my eternal disgrace be it said) that I also forged upon my father,

and defrauded him likewise of some other moneys. Such being the case, how can such a wretch as I am approach him who has been so kind and indulgent a father, and ask a single farthing? Although I have obtained his and my employer's forgiveness, yet my heart sickens at the recollection."

24. "DEAR PARENTS,—I rejoice to send you these few heart-full lines, hoping you are all in good health, as it leaves me at present, thank God for it. Your letter I received with thankfulness, but I could not read it without sighing deeply, to think that such a kind father as you have been to me should have been so ill-used by me. Dear father, when I read your letter, all my bad conduct at once rushes on my mind; my heart is then and repeatedly filled with your affections to me, and my poor mother's words, 'Oh! my lad, thou will break my heart!' I cannot think about you once without crying deeply; nothing in the world can stop my tears at that moment. Your parting words, dear mother, let me tell you, have brought me on my knees, to feel my need of a Saviour, and I trust my sins are pardoned."

25. "DEAR COMRADE,—I have given you a picture of my situation, and I have pointed out the advantages attending it. But, alas! is it not an unenviable situation, contrasted with the one I held two years ago? Instead of being a comfort, and of some assistance to my parents in their declining years, and a credit to my profession, what am I?—the degraded inmate of a prison! Is it not heart-rending, that the damning influence of drink should rob one of health, and render him an object of contempt in this world, to say nothing of the punishment which awaits him in that to come? I entreat you to give this your serious consideration; shun the temptations that surround you; avoid dram-drinking, for it ends in drunkenness,—and drunkenness, where does it end? or to what end will it lead its wretched victim? Pause, then, ere it is too late. *Intemperance has ruined its thousands and tens of thousands, and is the curse of the British army.* How many painful sights would its officers be spared were this pernicious habit banished from its ranks!"

26. "MY DEAR NEPHEW,—The good gentlemen of this prison have allowed me to write to you concerning my papers from H.M.S. I hope you will get on better than me, by God's help. Consider the affliction that I am in. I have been kept in solitude

for eighteen months—so long that it has made me miserable, and I am good for nothing. Give my kind love to my good old parents; I hope that the Lord will keep them from all trouble. Tell them not to think about my condition, as I know that such thoughts would soon bring them down to the grave. *Don't let my dear wife and children know the miserable condition that has befallen me; as I know that I shall never see them again in this world*, the trouble is more than I can bear. My mind is so full that I cannot say much: I hope the Lord will give you grace, and keep you out of such sorrow.

"My dear nephew, as you are the only relative that I have which follows the sea, I hope you will use all my sea clothes. I hope that Captain R—— settled all my accounts with you; and I hope that you will, by God's help, look after home the same as if I were there. I have suffered deeply for my folly and extravagance; but I have been led to hope that this imprisonment, though so degrading, will eventually prove the best thing which ever happened to me, as it has already led me to reflect, and has given me to see where I went wrong in my first starting on life's journey. It is heartbreaking, however, to look back at the time when I set out, with fairer prospects than almost any one of my acquaintances, and then to look at my present degradation, and to be tormented by the thought that I have slighted the advice of those who wished me well. I have, however, myself to blame. I pray to God for grace to act up to my present resolutions."

27. "Dear Brother,—I have information that I am about to leave for Bermuda. I thank you for your very kind letter. I hope, by the grace of God, that this awful visitation may prove a blessing. I am willing to give Christ all; to submit to his teachings, in the full assurance that He who died for me will so rule my heart as to bring all its affections under his sway; nor will he ever leave me if I serve him in sincerity and truth. Oh! my dear brother, I little thought that matters would have brought this condition down upon me. I am sorry to hear of the departure out of this life of your dear wife. I believe that she had her lamp trimmed. Your trials are great in this respect. Mine are on account of past transgressions; but I hope to hear of your commencing to seek the Lord while he may be found. I

hope that our dear Mrs. ——— is still living. Tell her not to sorrow for me; but rather to rejoice in hope that these my afflictions may work together for my salvation. I am afraid that it would be too much for my poor mother to come to see me. If not, I should look upon it as one of the greatest blessings that could be conferred upon me in this life. The Lord will strengthen her. St. John, I read, rode when he was a hundred years old after one whom he counted dear to him as a son, that had fallen into sin, and became a robber; and he recovered the lost one, for the Lord was with him. I should like to have a last welcome from my poor mother, as a token of her forgiveness. When I next write, I will tell you what the Lord has done for one so great a sinner."

28. "Dear Father,—Oh! how often do I wish that I had never been born, to have brought such disgrace upon such a kind father! but I hope you freely forgive me. Oh! that I could comfort you in your old age, instead of being a burden! I know, my dear father, that you have shed many tears, and uttered many sighs, on my account. How many hours do I keep awake, and fancy that I hear your voice speaking, and telling me to keep from bad company, or it would be the ruin of me. If I had done this, it would have been different with me at the present, but it is too late now. I hope it is not too late to be forgiven for all my wickedness. I pray to God morning, noon, and night, to give me a new heart, instead of this wicked one that I have got."

29. "After spending eighteen months' wages in two weeks, I shipped again on board the barque *Sarah*, of Boston, bound to Boston, with a cargo of whalebone. We left the Sandwich Islands, and pursued our course towards Cape Horn, calling at Juan Fernandez to take in water. We laid off and on two days, and having shot a half-dozen goats, caught a few score of lobsters, and loaded the boat three times with peaches, we left the solitary shore of Selkirk, upon which there was then living two Spaniards and their families. Before we got round the Horn, we experienced one of the heaviest gales that I had ever been in, our decks were clean swept of all they contained, our two boats taken off them, and the bulwarks stove from head to stern, scudding before it under bare poles. I had just been

relieved from the helm at twelve o'clock one night, and having got about abreast of the mainmast, we shipped a sea in which I was swimming for two or three minutes, without knowing whether the vessel or the unfathomable deep was beneath me. Oh! had I been then consigned to the deep, I should have awoke in the middle of hell; the thought has only very lately occurred to my mind. When we weathered the Horn, we pursued our way to Rio Janeiro, where all was refitted, and after five weeks' stay amongst the swarthy Portuguese, we steered to the north, and after embracing another heavy gale off Cape Attrass, we soon run into Boston Bay; but the wind blew so hard that we were driven out again, and remained out a fortnight before we got back. We then took the pilot on board, and he soon brought us into the harbour, where a tug-boat took us in tow, and brought us alongside of the wharf. So having by the providence of God escaped the perils of the sea, I safely landed on shore, where I intended to make my home,—but what has been the home of sin too often to me, and to many more who follow the same occupation. My heart often sickens when I sit for hours contemplating the state of the poor sailor. Immediately he arrives at the place he expected rest, he falls a prey to the first that greet him. Well may they be called *land-sharks*. Far different from friends that would lead the poor storm-beaten sailor to a place of virtue, quiet and order. But far different is their object; it is for the sake of gain, to introduce all to the haunts of immorality and vice, where the hardly-earned wages that is needed by an aged parent or a sickly sister are quickly dissipated in riot and excess, to our own injury in body and soul, and the extension of that demoralizing vice which renders our streets, and those of every large town, abroad as well as at home—especially seaports—offensive to all and contagious to many that pass through them. I know not how to account that I have been so blind as not to see my folly before. I cannot understand why I failed to perceive that I was rushing into destruction. But it has pleased Him whom I have denied and despised to make me an object of his mercy. He has opened my eyes to see my guilt of past years. He has led me to seek his face, and to cry for pardon through the blessed Saviour."

30. "Reverend Sir,—I was one of a number of soldiers that saved the principal magazine and repository from being blowed up. I should say that I was one of the instruments in the Almighty's hands, in saving them.

"The small but beautiful island named St. Helen's lies in the river St. Lawrence, about a musket-shot from the city of Montreal. It is a mile and a half in circumference, and half a mile wide. Respecting its fortifications, it has a formidable appearance on the north side, and is the repository for that part of Canada East, for their munition and implements of war. I was, unfortunately, the same night a prisoner in one of the cells of the provost, for a breach of military discipline. I had lain down and fallen asleep, when I was awakened by a loud cry of 'Fire!' from the sentry. I heard the bell ringing, but did not think the fire would be of as much consequence as it was. I lay quietly in bed, as I thought it would be soon extinguished. To my astonishment, it appeared to increase. I perceived sudden blazes and sparks coming up into my cell through the pipes; and the cell was filling with smoke. I immediately leaped out of bed and dressed myself, thinking that the cell door would be opened to let me out, as the fire was making rapid progress. I and some more fellow-soldiers were locked in, and no possibility of getting out. What was to be done? The smoke was suffocating me. I wanted air, and I tried to open the window, but I could not,—it was icebound. I took off my shoe, and broke several panes of glass; but, greatly to my distress, instead of air came thick volumes of smoke. I now began to draw my breath with greater difficulty, and I found I was getting weak through the want of air. The perspiration was running down my face. I gave myself up as lost, as the staircase on one side was on fire, that led to the corridor I was in, so I had no hopes of being saved in that direction. The prisoners now began to cry for assistance; but their cries seemed to no purpose, as none dare venture up that were down in the yard. I gave my last prayer (as I then thought it was) to that Almighty Being who is able to save. Shortly afterwards a key was put in the door, and it opened in a moment. It was the Captain of the Military Prison that *endangered his life to save ours.** I exerted my re-

* Captain Knight, now Governor of Portsmouth Convict Prison.

maining strength in getting as quickly as possible out of the cell I thought I was going to suffer such an awful death in, and I succeeded in reaching the open air. But what a night it was! The recollection of it I 'll never forget. The snow was falling heavily, and there was upwards of three feet of it on the ground already. Such a cold night seldom is felt in England; the thermometer was below the freezing point, and we had to stand up to our waist in the snow, handing the fire-buckets from one to the other. A new cause of alarm began now to appear. The fire was rapidly advancing towards the Magazine, and there was hardly a possibility of stopping its progress, except that the wind, which blew pretty hard, changed. As misfortunes never come alone, the fire-engine was rendered useless, by being ice-bound and out of repair. What was to be done we did scarcely know. To allow the fire to advance was instant death; and to make our escape off the island was nearly an impossibility, as the island was ice-bound at that time of the year (December), and large fields of ice were continually coming down the river, so that if a boat put out at that time of night it would be smashed in pieces. Notwithstanding all this, there would be a better chance of our lives by floating down the river on a field of ice, than by stopping on the island to be blown up. We worked in a state almost of desperation, until break of day. When we had made a large gap, so as we thought the fire could not get past it, by that means we stopped the advance of the fire on the Magazine. It was said that there were upwards of 50,000 barrels of powder in the Magazine; there might be more, and there might be less,—I only take it from hearsay. If that had taken fire, what would have been the consequence? It would have sent one hundred and twenty souls into eternity instantly, and in all probability have rooted the island up altogether, and never be seen more. There was one fine young soldier lost his life in his too eager endeavours to help to quench the fire; he fell from the top of the building, and in coming to the ground he came in contact with a ladder, which caused his death; for I think, if he fell on the snow that was thick on the ground, he would very probably not have been severely hurt. But it was otherwise ordered; he died in a few hours afterwards. Through the effects of that night—standing from half-past ten P.M., till seven o'clock in the morning, in the snow and heavy bitter frost,

we could not walk, from our feet and legs being swelled, nor sleep, from the pain we suffered from them. Some poor fellows had to be sent home to England, invalided and unfit for further service, through the effects of that night."

It may now be well to let the prisoner, in his own words, state specifically the causes which led to his downfall.

The following are written answers to the question, "What was the first cause of all your troubles?" proposed by me to men under orders for a foreign station, with the assurance that they should not be read until after their departure. They are selected from a larger number only for their greater brevity and clearness. From the circumstance of being *written*, and by men after a long course of discipline, they are entitled to more than ordinary attention.

The Causes of their own Crime stated by one Hundred Convicts.

1. "The cause of all my troubles was, my mother died when I was about eight years of age, and my father married his second wife, and she was always railing at me; and I was at last turned out of doors, and went to the ale-house—from that to poaching, and from that to prison."

2. "The first cause of my troubles was bad company and the love of money, and because I would not hearken unto my parents' good advice, but followed the inclinations of my own wicked heart."

3. "The first cause of my troubles was drinking, and seeking for the pleasures of this world. I have been a lover of the pleasures of this world more than of God; have indulged my body, but neglected and starved my soul."

4. "False witnesses and a bad character: disobedience to parents; and forsaking the house of God."

5. "Bad company, drink, and idleness."

6. "By being thrown out of employment, I became acquainted with a most dissolute set of people, which proved my ruin."

7. "Disobedience to parents, and from that to Sabbath-breaking and gambling."

8. "The first cause of my troubles was drink, which got me out of work. I then got into bad company, and then here."

9. "Staying out late at night, and bad company; not taking good advice, and disobedient to parents: gaming, and such-like practices."

10. "Disobedience towards both my heavenly and earthly father."

11. "When my mother died, my brother put me into the workhouse, and there I fell into bad company."

12. "A passionate desire for gambling, intemperance, and a desire for gay society."

13. "Bad company, card-playing, the ale-house, drunkenness, and night-work, brought on a house-breaking job."

14. "Profligate companionship, depraved excitements, contempt of the Sabbath, disobedience, extravagance, obduracy of heart, despising all warning and caution from pious friends and ministers; beginning with small sums, intending to replace them,—these are the principal causes; but there are others which I cannot mention."

15. "Through keeping late hours at night, and getting into bad company, which caused me to neglect my work."

16. "A bad wife was the first cause of all my trouble; for I would not have married when I did, if I had not been imposed upon; and the same person who commenced my trouble made bad worse afterwards."

17. "Jealousy began, and made things worse."

18. "Had a dispute with my master, and left him; got into bad company on the railroad."

18. "Keeping bad company, regardless of the remonstrances of my father, who at last turned me out of doors; so, having no home, I fell to dishonest means. The pleasures of sin were sweet; and one crime brought on another, until God, in his providence, put a stop to my career."

20. "Disobedience to my parents, and profaning the Lord's-day: then commencing with little things, such as a few plums from a garden, &c."

21. "I was a fool, and said in my heart, There is no God."

22. "When I was eleven years of age, I went to serve a farmer, who gave me beer to drink every day, so that I soon got very fond of it."

23. "Leaving my master's house at night without his knowledge, for the purpose of gratifying my sinful propensities, which at last caused me to be dismissed from my place without a character. I then fell to drinking and gambling, until I was almost starved, having neither food nor clothing. So drink has brought me here, and here I hope to leave it."

24. "The first cause of my trouble I can trace back to a disregard of the Sabbath-day, by following the counsel of bad youths, who enticed me every Sunday to come with them to the very spot where this prison is now built, instead of attending my chapel, as my poor mother thought I did."

25. "I may very justly attribute it to my disobedience to my parents (parent, for my father died when I was an infant). My mother was too kind to me, and so well I am repaying her. I have brought down her gray hairs with sorrow to the grave."

26. "I trace the source of all my misery, first, to disobeying a pious parent; and next, to the profanation of the Lord's-day; and from thence to the perpetration of worse crimes (if such there be), which soon hurried me on to the consummation of my fate."

27. "Twelve months before my father's death I stopped at my aunt's, where a sailor was boarding, and in the house opposite there was a boy who kept pigeons. He told me that I should have half of them if I would get as much money as would buy some to put with his; and this sailor having received his pay, I took £1 out of his pockets, and bought a basketful of them."

28. "Frequenting wicked places of amusement, and not taking kind friends' advice."

29. "Not paying due respect to the Sabbath-day. The first of my breaking the Sabbath was my running away from Sunday-school. I believe that I got into sins at the first of my staying away from school; but you know that it is very easy to go from one stage of sin to another; and so it was with me. I got into bad company on the Sabbath-days. The devil always presents some enticements for those who become his servants; and so it was with me. I was enticed to garden-robbery; and, overcoming the remonstrances of conscience, I soon yielded to other allurements of a deceitful world."

30. "Breaking the Sabbath-day, and keeping company with thieves, and telling my father and mother I did not care for them, and not being corrected by them for it."

31. "Leaving home to go and travel about the country, from town to town, and from fair to fair, seeing all kinds of wickedness; following the occupation of a hawker of hardware, sometimes with a waggon, but often on foot."

32. "It was disobeying my parents, taking to poaching, getting into bad company, going to fairs, and all that was bad. Instead of going to a place of worship on the Sabbath-day, I went to the ale-house, and there made jests of those who did go."

33. "At the age of seventeen I was taken away from a good and pious mother, and likewise a good master, and sent to a rich and ungodly family, where the fear of God was not before their eyes. This was the cause and the beginning of all my troubles."

34. "Disobedience to parents, sir, I am ashamed to confess. This led to Sabbath-breaking, and bad company. The consequences, sir—theft, hatred, lying, and every other vice—followed; and now I am undergoing a punishment I richly deserve."

35. "Living with the Jews; for I can assure you, that I lived eighteen months between two churches, and only could get leave three times to go to one of them; and then, I am sorry to say, after church I had to wait upon a card and dancing party on the Sabbath-day; and now God is visiting me for so great a crime."

36. "The first chief cause was truant from the Sunday-school, after I went to work. Neither I nor my elder brother thought it right to be sent to school after we had been to work all the week; so, we agreed not to tell of each other. We succeeded so well for a time, that we thought it was all right, and began to be more barefaced, by staying about home; but mother seeing us, and being satisfied that we were found out, we altogether abandoned school."

37. "I became acquainted with some young fellows who had less regard for Sunday than I had been accustomed to. By degrees, I went once, instead of twice, to chapel; then I got fond of theatres,—going, perhaps, once or twice a week; then came public-houses, a distaste for religion, novel-reading, Sunday

newspapers, and an ardent desire to see what is termed 'London life,'—that is, scenes of profligacy and vice."

38. "Disobedience to parents, and then masters; Sabbath-breaking, and the love of vain company, theatres, concerts, balls, dances, night-walking, card-playing, and pleasure of all kind."

39. "Being so fond of going to the play and the singing-rooms, and the bad company I got acquainted with there. One female so persuaded me to adopt her life, that, in order to gratify her wishes, and have an opportunity of seeing the plays, I was led to steal."

40. "Breaking of the Sabbath-day, and being so fond of pleasuring about on the water, in a boat, on that day, led me into all kinds of company that I ought to have avoided, and not minding what my father said to me."

41. "Low company, a harsh schoolmaster, attending minor theatres, reading novels, romances, &c."

42. "Forsaking my wife, who is a pious, good woman; and I hope the blessed Lord will forgive me for it."

43. "My being of a covetous disposition, and given to spiritous liquors; and seeing a deal of money in the shop the day previous to my going at night to break into it."

44. "A stubborn and unbending temper, that would never listen to good advice."

45. "Bad company, particularly females'."

46. "The love of pleasure, covetousness, and an ignorant mind."

47. "Associating with bad company, and frequenting theatres."

48. "Because I did not attend to the instructions given to me at the Sunday-school, and seeking worldly pleasure after church service."

49. "Associating with bad company, and then taking to poaching."

50. "The cause of all my trouble has been through drinking and gambling, and being out all night card-playing, which caused me to spend a great deal of money, much more than I could earn by my own honest industry. So that, to supply my wants, I became dishonest, which got me into trouble, and was the means of my being sent for one month to the Warwick House of Correction. In this prison I was used well; knew some of the

prisoners; but, instead of being made better by the punishment, my mind became more abandoned."

51. "While still very young, I began to ramble about the streets; and my parents being at work, they could not avoid it, although they put me to school. But I used to play truant. I got such a habit of playing in the streets, and thereby getting among others that were alike inclined with myself, that, young as I was, I found pleasure in deeds of mischief. I and my companions were in the habit of encouraging each other, and others, in vice. I went on from bad to worse, until my parents could not stop me."

52. "By keeping bad company and gambling, staying away from church on the Lord's-day, and playing at cricket. I used to win a good deal sometimes; and, being a good hand, I was much sought after by my companions and others. But we are told not to go in the way of evil men; to avoid it, and pass by it."

53. "Covetousness, and associating with bad shopmates."

54. "I attribute the whole of my present misfortunes to the persecutions and machinations of my late master, who was jealous at my prosperity in trade. But may God forgive him for his injustice and wickedness."

55. "Sir, I can blame all my troubles in having given heed to my shipmates, when requested by them to go to the public-houses, and there drink all my money."

56. "In the first instance, disobedience to my parents, and the manner in which I was treated by my father. This made me abscond from under his control, and I went to my uncle, where I remained until I was apprenticed. During the three years and a half that I remained with my master, I occasionally obtained permission to ride for my uncle at several races. Consequently I became a lover of gay company."

57. "It was disobedience to my friends, and running away from them, getting into bad company, and then from bad to worse, till at length I was transported."

58. "Being left destitute at an early age, without father or mother."

59. "I think the first cause of all my troubles was through the neglect of my parents in not teaching me the things that were good and profitable; and another cause, the love of money, which

led me to pilfer from my parents. I always had a propensity for amusement, occasioned by having money given me for going of errands, and seeing it lay about unnoticed. I do not know that I am right in attributing my troubles, or rather my gross sins, to my poor parents. Would to God they had some one to point out to them their folly and danger! I should have written some portions of Scripture to them if I had known their address."

60. "Casting off the fear of God, putting him and his commandments out of my thoughts, stifling the convictions of conscience, self-dependence, forsaking home, throwing myself in the way of committing sin, by being employed in an unjust system of transacting business, for the sake of lucre. These formed the source of my present fall."

61. "This was no theft of my own that I am here for; but for allowing a person to leave some property at my house, which (it appeared afterwards) he had stolen from his employers. I refused to inform those who searched my house how I came in possession of the property, and was consequently not only brought in as an interested party, but was also punished as the same. But if innocent of this sin, I was guilty of thousands quite as bad. Therefore I most justly deserved the severest chastisement that God could put upon me."

62. "Leaving my home, and mixing with bad company. But I think what chiefly helped to make things worse was, that, when I was overtaken in doing wrong, I was not corrected in a proper and gentle manner, but with hard blows and bitter words, which tended to harden my heart. I now refer to the time when I lived with my parents, my crimes beginning while I was with them. And I can only account for their conduct from the use of the cursed intoxicating drinks. I believe my mother took to drink through father's bad conduct. Oh! what sin and misery abounds in this country through the infernal poisonous drinks, which are allowed to be sold to increase the revenue of Government! Why do they not do away with such an evil?"

63. "Frequenting public-houses and liquor-shops, which lead a man to almost every other crime. The conversation he hears there corrupts his morals, banishes the love of virtue from his heart, and prepares and opens the door to adultery and fornication."

64. "My negligence of the things that belong to my ever-

lasting peace, going a-pleasuring on the Lord's-day, neglecting the Bible and a place of worship."

65. "My idol, alas! was money; because it enabled me to support a spirit of independence, in which I prided myself; and in supporting this pride, as well as gambling, I spent all I got, although at the time I was getting, including presents, upon an average, from £4 to £5 per week; indeed I have received nearly £30 for one race."

66. "Idleness, and keeping bad company with people that were more depraved than myself."

67. "I trace my first inclination to immorality from the time I left my Sunday-school, which I had been in the habit of attending from my earliest childhood, and for a considerable period before my leaving was employed as a teacher; and I may safely affirm, it was the happiest period of my life. No sooner did I leave my school, than I began to absent myself from church, and ofttimes made the Sabbath a day of pleasure; and this, I believe, was all through getting acquainted with ungodly companions."

68. "In answer to this, I could not possibly give a more correct account or idea of the cause of my trouble, than by referring you to the parable of the prodigal son, in the 15th chapter of St. Luke; for most truly it was through leaving my father's house, in order to avoid the restriction it was needful for him to put upon me, as well as the tender and pious and affectionate admonitions and entreaties of a dear, tender mother."

69. "A total mistrust in the providence of God, when I could not by honourable means obtain a long-desired object, the speedy attainment of which would have completely sealed my happiness for life; was despairingly induced to commit an unlawful act, which, instead of realizing my once anxious hopes, has completely proved my lasting disgrace, and I sometimes think my inevitable ruin separated me from my friends, and transported me for ever from the endearing object of my bosom."

70. "Was wont to accompany my father from childhood to public-houses, plays, race-courses, and such places; and I always after looked for such company, in spite of all my poor mother could do to prevent it. But the father shall not suffer for the sins of the son, nor the son for the sins of the father; so my father will not bear the punishment due for my sins, but I must

bear my own, as well as he his. I knew to do good, and did it not; therefore to me it is sin."

71. "Having too quiet parents, who let me have my own ways too much, in not chastising me while I was young; but no, they were too kind ever to hurt me in that way; and by being let have my own way so much, I took to go to a public-house, where I got into bad company, which gave my parents so much trouble, that I believe I was the cause of my kind mother's death years before she would have died if I had been a good son; and after losing her, I was cared but very little about; so I went on my own way, till I finally brought on my transportation."

72. "I was fond of going to the theatre; that was the cause of my troubles."

73. "Leaving my work; and then I began going with bad company what did nothing for a living, but what they got by stealing."

74. "Dissipation and company were some of the causes."

75. "It was leaving Sunday-school. When I was about eight years old, I went to work in the factory; and so soon as I began to earn wages, in my ignorance I thought it was not right to be going to school and factory; but the reason was, I had got on with a bad companion, that did not go; so that made me to think I should not go, His name was G——— H———; I kept company with him for a great while. I got many a beating for not going to school. The man that I worked for always gave me two-pence a week to myself, and my mother gave me one, and that led me to begin a-gambling, and I continued gambling every week for a long time."

76. "I can safely say this, that I never lived at a situation that did not try and get as much for an article as they possibly could; and they would practise deceit and deception where they could; and they would never lose the opportunity of taking the advantage of another man's ignorance; and they never went to church, though they kept large shops and warehouses, most of them; so that by me having such bad masters, I did not think I should be doing wrong by following those examples; and the first temptation that presented itself, I yielded to it, and now am dearly suffering for it. A poor woman went into a draper's shop, and asked the prices of some shawls. Being shown one marked 7*s.* 6*d.*, she said she should like one the

same pattern as the 7*s*. 6*d*. one, but higher in price, as she wanted it for the winter. The 7*s*. 6*d*. shawl was taken, and put into a parcel of shawls, prices 14*s*. 6*d*. The first shawl that met her eye in this fresh bundle was the 7*s*. 6*d*. shawl. 'Ah!' says the poor woman, 'I will have this one, sir. What is the price of it?'—Shopman: '14*s*. 6*d*.' So she paid 14*s*. 6*d*. for the shawl that she was once told she might have for 7*s*. 6*d*. It was no mistake of the shopman; for he knew her heart was set on that pattern, and so took her in, and was praised by the masters for his cleverness, and got a reward. I might mention several others, but this will show you, sir, the nature of my temptations, and how young-men drapers are led into sin."

77. "Being always with men who tried to entice the mind with all sorts of amusements, and kept the mind from reflection."

78. "Through falling out of situation and quarrelling with my friends, leaving my home, and falling into bad company, turning a deaf ear to good advice that my friends tried to give me; but I had already tasted some of the pleasures of sin, not thinking of the bitterness that I should taste through it afterward, even in this world. My feet had already slipped, and my friends' advice to me was all in vain."

79. "Through taking up with horse-dealers. When I think of the warnings I received from my mother! She used to tell me that our sins were like arrows piercing the Saviour's heart afresh. I could not see it then, but now I see it plain enough."

80. "A desire to have money became my ruin, and when I could not get it in a right way, which led me to try to get it in a dishonest way."

81. "It was from being indulged, and then comes the playhouse and fair; then 'way goes I with some more of my playfellows, thinking it a very fine thing to go to the fair; then comes playing about on the Sabbath. And I need not add any more."

82. "My father's second marriage, haughtiness and disrespect to my step-mother, and consequently not being able to implore Divine assistance for to help me through my difficulties."

83. "I absconded with a sum of money from my father, now four years since, from which time I have never been happy. I was always very fond of visiting theatres, which called for more money than I could find by honest means, yet it was as much

per week as some men earn. After being so wicked to so good a father, and being forgiven by him, I was so bad as to commit the same act again, since which I have never been home but for a few hours, when he came and received me from the City Compter. I then thought I could do better for myself, and always endeavoured to shun my parents when I met them, nor did I speak to them again until I saw them here. My dear sir, pray for me, that God may forgive so wicked a son. I cannot blame my home nor my parents. I had a wicked heart, and I gloried in my wickedness. I was very fortunate as it was called. By my crimes I got a deal of money, and so my heart and mind were puffed up. Having found some companions as bad as myself, I thought I was quite safe; yet I think had I been sent to prison where talking is not allowed, instead of the City Compter, I should have been now a happy young man. I came from that 'school of vice' worse than when I entered it."

84. "Seen by parties in bad company led to my apprehension, of which I had not the least idea at the time that the malt that I received was stolen property."

85. "The chief cause is keeping bad company; and having traced frequently back as far as possible, to see how I fell first into it, I have almost always come to the same conclusion; viz., that when sent to church by my mother, instead of going I went bathing, or seeking for birds'-nests; and so I proceeded from one degree of depravity to another, until I cared as little for the Sabbath as any other day. And it is from this time I began to keep company with the persons who have at last brought me to my present bodily circumstances; and if I remember right, it was on a Sabbath, while squandering away my time in walking in the country that I first met with her."

86. "The first cause of my troubles, for which I have no person to blame but myself. I was left without a father when at the age of five years old. I had a tender mother; never lived one so fond of a child as my mother was of me. I was allowed anything she could get for me; I was allowed pocket-money to do as I liked with; I went to school when I thought proper, and stayed away when I liked. I often went to play-houses; when quite young I was put apprentice to a master who had a great many men, and I often went to beer-houses with them on Saturday nights, and there I learnt to drink, play at cards, and go

home any time to my master's house. I was let in, and nothing said to me. I am sorry to say, it was keeping of late hours of night, going to play-houses and other amusements, and drink, and so on, till one sort of vice followed another, and when I gave way to it, it came on stronger and stronger, and now I have found it out. Those people that I have spent my money with, now if I wanted a meal of bread they would not give me one; but I hope, please God, that I have learnt better; if a man gives his mind to drink, and to get drunk, that man is no good to any master nor himself; that is the cause of my troubles, nothing else."

87. "By not obeying a kind and good father, nor taking the advice of them that wished me well: but would and did at the age of eighteen years marry into a family that were not even acquainted with the things that belong to morality: after a few months my eyes were opened; then my troubles began."

88. "Being fixed in business too soon, getting married too young, and against my parents' consent, I have had nothing else but troubles since I have been able to do for myself, and through no misconduct that I am aware of. I have always been a steady, sober, and industrious man, but nothing which I have undertaken has prospered. I have had a very drunken father. (The sins of the parent shall be on the children.) If my misfortunes and sufferings will bring him to a knowledge of his sins I shall be a happy man."

89. "We had now come to the greatest height of poverty; we thought ourselves well off if we got one meal in two or three days; we had sold and pledged everything we had; we only had a Bible and a few other books left, which we sold, and two days after we set out for another journey, not knowing what to do or where to go, as we were penniless and were almost starved to death; it rained very hard all that day, and in the evening we committed the crime of sheep stealing."

90. "After I had worked hard all the week, and then took my wages, as much as one pound or five-and-twenty shillings, I was led by bad companions to spend half of it away from my wife and family; if it had not have been for bad company, I should never have been brought here to be a poor prisoner."

91. "Leaving off going to Sunday-school as soon as I was put to business, seeking pleasure on the Lord's-day in roaming

about to gardens and going out in boats, and breaking the Sabbath in everything that was wrong. I do not mention it for any reproach, but my parents were too kind to me, letting me have my own way in everything, which led me to honour my father and mother less. I truly think, that giving up going to Sunday-school was the commencing of all my trouble. Not having a love for home, though there could not be a kinder, I think the greatest happiness I ever enjoyed was when, by sickness or other cause, I was kept at home in the evening, and reading aloud to my father and mother; but I was easily led away by the first temptation. What I think the greatest cause of all my trouble was frequenting theatres with gay companions, and from that which I humbly beg you will excuse me mentioning,—for I am quite ashamed to look back to it, but it has been the chief cause of bringing me to my present condition,—to houses of ill-fame. Liquors, and dancing, and swearing, I always did detest, and I humbly trust that them, and all my other vices, I always shall. Mine has truly been a miserable beginning of life, for I am only nineteen years of age; may God grant that it may have a happy ending. O Lord! pardon what I have been, amend what I am, and let thy goodness direct what I shall be."

92. "Neglect of my duty in not obeying the instructions of my parents, because I was not closely watched; habits of gambling I cherished from a child, which first commenced in the childish game of cherry-stones, then marbles, then buttons, then halfpence, and then draughts and bagatelle, the latter of which caused my downfall."

93. "Running away from my master, and Sabbath-breaking, associating with bad company, and giving myself up to lewdness."

94. "My first misfortune was to be placed among wicked, drunken men, when serving my time in Edinburgh to the plumber trade. I remember well the night I paid my entry, as it was the custom then to do. When the glass of ardent spirits was handed to me for to drink, I cared nothing about it, or in other words, I had no love for it, so I only took a little of it, when some one of the men said to me, 'You'll never make a plumber if you cannot drink a glass of whisky.' But little did I think that night, whisky was to be my downfall. Plumbers in general are very much exposed, because they are going about

from one house to another repairing baths, washhand basins, &c., and there is hardly one gentleman's house but gives them ardent spirits to drink."

95. "You are aware when children are young they are pleased when they can get some one to tell them stories; and, sir, I dare say you know that old sailors and soldiers are just the boys for that; for they will tell children any stuff to please them: so it was with me, sir: if I could get with some old sailors or soldiers I was as happy as the day was long; for there were several in the village where I come from, and I did believe all they told me; and it so filled my young mind with the hopes of seeing some of these strange things they told me, that I got quite discontented with my own happy home, and I was determined to go either for a soldier or sailor; so I ran away from home several times; at last I got away, and I was ashamed to go back, so I got into company, and crime soon after followed."

96. "When I was eighteen years old I took to going to the play-house and concert-rooms, and staying out of nights, neglecting my work; my money soon went; I took to a bad girl, and after a little time my master told my father how I behaved to him; my father used to talk to me, but all in vain—I took no heed of him whatever. After I left my master I still went with that bad girl, and I almost broke my poor mother's heart with my conduct."

97. "Leaving home and having a wish to get money and to see life, as some persons call it, but it is the only way to shorten life; I then fell into bad company, keeping gay company, and fond of merry-making and gratification."

98. "I disobeyed my Sunday-school teacher's advice, and then I broke the Sabbath-day; that was the first cause of all my troubles."

99. "Breaking the Sabbath, which is a breach to the rest."

100. "There can be, I think, but one answer, however large a number may be asked this question: The absence of the fear and love of God."

A remarkable Address from a Prisoner under sentence of Transportation, to his Fellow-Prisoners.

"My Friends and Brothers in adversity,—Now that we are reaping the first fruits of that bitter harvest that we have taken

so much pains and wasted so much precious time in sowing, I have no doubt that many of you, like myself, in the solitude of your lonely cells, with no companion but your own thought, and no eye but that of the Almighty upon you, occasionally call to remembrance portions of that holy volume, the neglect of which in our former career has brought us to our present condition. I remember it is there written, 'Be ye sure your sins will find you out;' 'Though hand join in hand, yet shall not the evil doer go unpunished;' 'The way of transgressors is hard.' On these points your experience must agree with mine. Are we not realizing in our own case the literal truth of all this to the letter? Our sins have found us out; and God and man have combined to punish us; and truly, the way in which we must walk for a long time to come is a hard, a rough, and a painful one, quite enough so to make the heart that is not entirely dead to all human emotion tremble at the prospect, even if the words above quoted had no reference to the more awful but quite as certain punishment that awaits us in a future state, unless God in his infinite mercy so soften our hearts by his grace as to bring them with feelings of contrition and true penitence to the cross of that blessed Saviour, who died to save us from the eternal and terrible consequence of our rebellion against a good and a gracious God. The more I reflect upon this subject and upon my past life, my resolutions of amendment, broken almost as soon as formed, and my many feeble attempts to resist the stream of iniquity and sin in which I found myself floating, the more deeply am I convinced that nothing but the sovereign and almighty grace of our Father who is in heaven can enable any of us to effectually withstand the temptations and allurements to sin that meet us at every step, and find in every one of our hearts an inclination and strong bias towards compliance with their solicitations; but as this view of the subject on which I wish to address a few words to my fellow-sufferers can be more consistently and ably delineated by others, I will not further dwell upon it, but I will simply ask each one of you, my poor fellow-sufferers, to join with me in looking at the more obvious points of our position as it is at present, as it has been in our past experience, and as it is likely to be for the future, in a temporal sense, leaving altogether out of the question the dreadful realities of eternity, and a future judgment. I am—like yourself—a con-

vict, suffering a severe punishment for an act of dishonesty. We are separated from our friends, and from all society that we ought to desire to be admitted into. Several of the best years of our lives are as absolutely struck out of the account—as far as respects all temporal enjoyments, benefits, or advantages—as if we remained in the grave for that period. We are doomed to live without enjoyment, and to labour hard without deriving the reward that usually—I may say invariably—accompanies a life of honourable exertion. The hearts of our friends, who still continue to love us, though the rest of the world regard us with abhorrence, are bleeding with anguish; and the blush of shame is upon their cheeks when they hear us named as convicts,—our respectability and character gone, if ever we had them; and, if we had not, the fault rests only with ourselves. All these sufferings we have inflicted upon ourselves,—all these sacrifices we have made. And for what? Where is the equivalent—the gain—the value received for this frightful outlay? I can say, for myself, that I have none—absolutely nothing; in fact, I am, in a temporal sense, poorer, worse off, in every respect, than if I had never incurred it; and I am quite sure this is the case with each of us. If it is so with us now, let us have the courage to look back upon the career that brought us to this. Let us, like rational creatures, and sensible men, calmly take a survey of the pleasures, the enjoyments, the delights that accompanied us in our evil practice,—such of us as made dishonesty and thieving the profession by which we expected to live. What incited us to enter that profession? What encouraged us to continue it? What was the prospect of reward held out? Did we not enter it with the hope of leading an easy and idle life, with plenty of money at command, without work, and without exertion? Did we find this the case? Did we not find it entailed upon us constant anxiety and disappointment, watching and following our victims for hours, or it may be days, before the opportunity offered, and then, frequent disappointment;—where we expected treasure, behold emptiness, copper for gold, pebble-stones instead of jewels—literally, stones instead of bread? I know this has been the case often with many of us. Then, there was the constant dread of detection, and, not unfrequently, the actual occurrence of it; then followed punishment, labour, the scorn and execration of the community. Did we feel pleasure or

satisfaction under all this? Answer yourselves, as I do, truly—None. Would not a life of labour, or honourable exertion, have been better, in every sense of the word?—ay, and more profitable—more money might have been made by it. I know that many have been compelled to turn out in the morning, like the wild beast in the forest, to hunt down the prey before they could break their fast. I repeat the question, Where was the profit, where the gain, even if it had not brought you to what you now are? And—strange infatuation!—you knew this would be the result; you knew it would all end, and that before long, in transportation. You know that *all* thieves, after a time, become known to the police; that they are marked men, and that they *all at last* get transported; that it is impossible to escape. You *know* those of your companions, who have hitherto escaped, will follow you before your time is out. You know how many of your companions fall before you, like grass before the mower; and, whether you or they fell in the first or last swathe, their and your fate was equally sure from the time you entered the profession. Let us deal with ourselves honestly, whatever we have done with others, if these are facts—and I know, and you know, they are. What fools we have been! what a bad trade we have followed! What prevented us from finding this out before we were brought to this point? And this leads me to speak of what incited us to continue the profession: it may be, in here and there a rare instance, a prize affording the means of sensual and beastly gratification for a *few days'* excess, seldom more; oftener, the reward was barely the wages of a clever, active, industrious working man—for although we might get property to the value of many pounds, how little did it yield us—about 3*s*. for £1 value! Was it the pleasure we derived from the society of those who were following the same life as ourselves—their conversation, the information we derived from them? Let us look back calmly now, and weigh this point in our minds. Was not their conversation generally such as we ought to blush for? Could we venture to use the language, or express the ideas, we were constantly hearing from them, in the presence of any one of either sex of any degree of respectability? And does not our own natural sense tell us, that what we hesitate or fear to utter before the good and virtuous members of society, must be in itself very wicked? Then, again, were

these parties of such character and fidelity that we could rely upon their honour and faithfulness? Was not the case exactly the reverse? Would they not over-reach, defraud, cheat, and betray their most intimate and, apparently, bosom friends? Were we not in constant dread of one or another amongst them saving themselves at our expense? Did we not, in short, live a life of constant toil, anxiety, suspicion, and fear, with a positive conviction that, in the end, our present fate would reach us? I repeat, then, have we not been fools and madmen, to give up a fair chance, nay, almost a certainty, of becoming, by honesty and industry, respectable and useful members of society,—as husbands, fathers, citizens, and subjects,—for vicious indulgence, often degrading want, contempt, abhorrence, misery, and, finally, banishment? May God, in his infinite mercy, grant that this may be the sum total of our self-inflicted punishment; that to it may not be added the bitter pangs of eternal death! And now, my friends and brothers in suffering, it only remains just rationally and calmly to look the future in the face. I mean, as regards this life. We have been playing a losing game, in the run, by constantly doubling the stakes, we must lose all. Our life is not all expended: we are many of us young, and have a prospect of years, either of increased misery, or, in some degree, rescued respectability and credit, before us. The law has struck us this once heavily, but we may recover the effects of this blow by resolutely *doing right*.

"I cannot use a more expressive term,—Let us be honest and just in all our dealings for the future. Dishonesty will not, cannot answer in any case; and now in our case least of all. If we do wrong after this, the law will surely strike again, and then it will utterly destroy us. Every good gift comes from God. I know that he has given me both mental and physical powers sufficient, by their proper exercise in useful, lawful, and honourable pursuits, to live honestly, creditably, and comfortably; and I know the same is the case with you. I know that the same fixedness of purpose, the same energy and perseverance, the same ingenuity and industry, that you have exercised in unlawful and unworthy pursuits, would, if as constantly exerted in a right direction, have caused you to be now prosperous, happy, and respected members of society, instead of what we now are. I know it is the fashion amongst those who have not tasted the terrors of the

law, but who are in training for it, to jeer and laugh at its penalties; but to us who are fairly involved in its meshes, and have the prospect of years of banishment from the joys of society, of love, of friendship, its reality is dreadful. Let us, then, as we value the peace and happiness of our future days, so endeavour to direct our thoughts, hopes, and actions, that we may, after our term is expired, enter the world with higher motives and purer aims; so that our latter days may be better than our beginning, and our end may be peace."

Additional Cases.

Mr. Lucas's remarks concerning Roman Catholic prisoners in Pentonville, as noticed in the last chapter, have brought to my recollection the following cases, which will serve to illustrate the honourable member's observations, as well as the subject before us.

In 1845, as well as I can remember, a convict came to us from Millbank who was entered there as a Protestant, and of course as such on our books. The man was examined, and classed by the schoolmaster amongst the non-readers. In the course of nine or ten months, however, he was found not only a proficient in reading, but *well made up, and able in controversy*, urging against Protestantism all the usual arguments, in the way, however, of respectful inquiry. Such a prisoner naturally attracted much of my attention. Was he an educational prodigy, or a member of some mysterious order, in a strange predicament, wishing to do a good turn to the Church (perhaps to convert the chaplain)? He was, I think, of respectable parentage, but under a false name. He gave us no reference for character, and

was reserved upon all matters referring to his former life. I inclined to the opinion that he had put on the guise of ignorance, and was really an educated man.

It would now almost seem that I was right in this conjecture, and that this able ultramontanist has returned from exile, his sentence having expired, and communicated with Mr. Lucas, for I recollect not another single case in which I have entered upon the popish controversy with a prisoner.

Another Roman Catholic convict is entitled to notice in this connexion, as a specimen of another species of hypocrisy. This man had been a butler in high families, and was up to every scheme. Irish-born, he had contrived to anglicanize his name, and, in some measure, his tongue. At first sight, however, I caught in his visage the lineaments of the true Celt, and calling him by his right name, the mask fell off. After a while, however, he essayed to play another part. He now fasted to an incredible degree, and on bended knees for hours, with uplifted eyes and fixed gaze, his hands crossed on his breast in the crypto-catholic style, he seemed lost in contemplation and devotion. No one disturbed him. He was closely observed, however;—was he an ecstatic, a monomaniac, or a malingerer? He made no inquiries for his priest. This was suspicious. We wished, and indeed intimated our wish to him, to that effect. His spiritual director might have explained the phenomenon. The prisoner now advanced another step. He shaved his head of his

bushy red hair, as if with a razor, one morning, and again assumed the motionless attitude of prayer. On my next visit, when I saw the man in this strange condition, I confess that I laughed outright, convinced that he was playing a part, but was staggered in my belief by seeing that even this did not discompose him in the least. There he knelt, motionless as before, like a statue. I addressed him, but his contemplations were too absorbing to permit him to answer, or, seemingly, to hear.

The man was removed at length to another prison and associated, and discovering, I suppose, there that an honest course was, after all, the best policy, he allowed his hair to grow, and behaved like other men. He was, on the expiration of his time, liberated, and paid me a visit in my office, dressed once more in the gentleman-butler fashion. The London manufacturers of character no doubt had set him right again!

There was an Irishman, a Roman Catholic, I believed, who stated to me that he had been once employed by the Irish Scripture-Reading Society. This man was on our books a Protestant, and after a while expressed a desire to come to the communion of the Lord's Supper. Not being satisfied, however, with the state of his mind, I did not admit him, but recommended delay. His real character upon this became disclosed. He flew into a great passion, and his look said as much as "If I had you in Tipperary I know how I would serve you."

Against this class of pure Roman Catholic Irish,

or Celtic St. Giles' people, every chaplain of a gaol must especially be on his guard. They are wholly given to lying, and are as clever as they are deceitful. If I might be so bold, I would warn their own priests not to trust them too far, but even in their most solemn intercourse with their catechumens, to take care of their pockets, and to consider nothing, *however sacred*, safe which is within their reach, and which can be turned into money or tobacco.

To limit myself to things profane. It is not long since a spiritual director (not in this prison, and I will not say where), having absolved two penitent convicts, left them with his blessing, and retired. The gentleman was addicted to much snuff, and carried three handkerchiefs for distinct stages of use, one in his breast, the others in his hinder pockets. The first he was fortunate enough to retain, but the absolved contrived to begin life again by abstracting the other two. One of their messmates, however, a Roman Catholic also, having a higher sense of what was right, or, as it is probable, only deeper hypocrisy, informed the Governor of the theft, who thus recovered the property, had the handkerchiefs washed, and restored them to their owner upon his next visit to the prison.

CHAPTER VI.

A CHAPTER FOR OFFICERS IN CHARGE OF PRISONERS.

"The great object of reclaiming the criminal should always be kept in view by every officer.'—RULES IN CONVICT PRISONS.

THE following Rules respecting Officers who have the charge of Prisoners are laid down by authority in Government prisons.

"First, *Concerning their own Personal Character and Conduct.*

"All officers placed in authority over prisoners, and all persons employed in the prison, must be men of moral principle and unblemished character. Any disreputable conduct will render an officer liable to dismissal.

"Intoxication will be visited with dismissal; and it will not be taken into consideration at what place the act of intemperance was committed, nor whether the officer was or was not thereby considered incapable of performing his duty; it being absolutely necessary that all persons connected with the prison should be perfectly sober at all times. Swearing and improper language; knowingly incurring debts which they are unable to pay; the habit of frequenting public-houses; keeping bad company; gambling or card-playing, will severally be considered a sufficient reason for the dismissal of an officer.

"If there be any reasonable ground to believe that any officer or servant betrays the confidence placed in him, by making any unauthorized communications concerning the prison to the friends of prisoners, or any other person not belonging to the establishment, he will be deemed not trustworthy, and he will be dismissed."

Next, *Respecting their Treatment of Prisoners.*

"In maintaining order and discipline among prisoners, punishment must sometimes be resorted to by the Governor, upon their report; but good temper and good example on the part of subordinate officers, will have *great influence in preventing* the frequent recurrence of offences and the necessity for punishment.

"It is the duty of all officers to treat the prisoners with kindness and humanity, and to listen *patiently* to, and report their grievances or complaints, being at the same time firm in maintaining order and discipline, and enforcing a strict observance of the rules of the establishment. *The great object of reclaiming the criminal should always be kept in view by every officer in the prison*, and they should strive to acquire a moral influence over the prisoners, by performing their duties conscientiously, patiently, and without harshness. They should especially try to raise the prisoners' minds to a proper sense of moral obligation, by the example of their own uniform regard to truth and integrity, *even in the smallest matters*. Such conduct will, in most cases, insure the respect and confidence of prisoners, and will render the duties of officers more satisfactory to themselves."

There must, however, be no familiarity between officers and prisoners. "No officer or servant of the prison shall converse with a prisoner except in the discharge of his duties, or on subjects connected therewith.

"The Warders and Trade Instructors are to enforce their orders with *firmness*, but also with *humanity*, towards all the prisoners under their care. On the other hand, they are not to converse with them *unnecessarily*, but shall treat them as persons under their authority, and not as companions or associates."

Rules for the Chief Warder.

"He shall consider it a main part of his duty to exercise a sound moral influence *over both the officers and prisoners* placed under his supervision. He shall frequently visit the prisoners in their cells, for the purpose of promoting, by his advice and

conversation, the object of their reformation. He shall restrain by his authority every *tendency to oppression* or harshness on the part of officers; and likewise every tendency to levity, rudeness, or insubordination on the part of prisoners; and shall discourage by his own example, and by the *maintenance of a high moral standard*, every disposition to deceit, falsehood, immorality, and idleness; constantly aiming to raise the minds of the prisoners to a sense of their responsibility, and of the comfort and advantage of a conscientious discharge of their duties, and a cheerful submission to the rules."

The Governor to be an Example to all his Officers, Servants, and Prisoners.

"The Governor shall exercise his authority with firmness, temper, and humanity; abstain from all irritating language, and shall never strike a prisoner except in self-defence, should such necessity occur. He shall bear in mind that the object of his duties, and of those of all officers and servants under his direction, is not only to give full effect to the penal sentence awarded to the convicts, *but also* to instil into their *minds sound, moral, and religious principles*, and induce habits of industry, regularity, and good conduct. With this view, while enforcing strict observance of the rules regarding labour and discipline, the Governor will be careful to encourage every effort at amendment on the part of the prisoners, and will require all officers and servants of the prison, in their several capacities, to do the same."

These admirable regulations are the result of an enlightened view of the claims of justice and humanity, derived from experience in the treatment of prisoners.

They reflect honour on those who framed them, and the Government which gives them their force

and authority. The great difficulty is to carry them out, both as regards the selection of officers, and their subsequent conduct. The oversight of prisoners is not likely to attract many to desire it, but from necessity; and it often happens that those who have most of the moral qualifications, have least of those which, it must be confessed, are indispensable, when the safe custody of prisoners is to be taken into account, and a strict discipline enforced. Military men, therefore, are in general considered by the authorities the most likely candidates for such employment; and, if they are capable of acting up to the spirit of the above rules, they probably are the best for the purpose. A good selection of subordinate officers is a matter of first importance in a prison. Upon them rests the carrying out the details of daily discipline. They come into closest contact with the prisoner. Their character is studied and known by the prisoner.

The officer may altogether misjudge the character of the prisoner; but the latter, with little to distract thought, forms an accurate estimate of the character of his superior, and even of his habits outside the prison walls.

A high-principled officer of the lowest rank is a constant daily lesson, therefore, to the prisoner,—an example of what may be attained in humble life. He becomes a valuable auxiliary to the direct means used for the instruction and reformation of the prisoner. The superiority of his moral character, his fidelity to the trust reposed in him, his zeal, and

strict attention to his superiors' commands, insure respect from the prisoner, and prompt obedience to his own orders, whilst the gentleness of his voice and manner will often win his regard. Prisoners know well the necessity of strict discipline. If well disposed, they feel the comfort of it. To such it is protection. But necessary strictness is one thing; harshness of manner is another. The first is what the law requires; the second is the arbitrary tyranny of an officer ill instructed in his duty. Protected by the former, and freed from the irritation of the latter, the prisoner ceases to regard his punishment as a thing against which he must struggle and revolt, and, if opportunity occurs, escape from. It becomes in a measure reformatory, and facilitates the access of the teaching of religion to the heart.

The combination of great strictness in discipline, with humanity, of firmness with gentleness, is certainly rare; but it is found in some, and may be attained to by all officers. Why should not every one, intrusted with the charge of prisoners, labour to attain to it?

It is a secondary consideration to suggest, that such a course, steadily pursued, in general commends a man to his superiors, and leads to promotion. Officers of such character are continually wanted for more responsible duties. This is not to be overlooked. Men, as they advance in years, generally need an advance in income, and become fitter for duties which require experience and high moral character, rather than activity and strength.

In my opinion, a man should, by such a course of conduct, look forward to promotion, and, by diligently cultivating his mind and extending his knowledge in the peculiar sphere of his duty, prepare himself for it. *An officer who is not thoroughly in his work, will never discharge it satisfactorily, and is rarely good for anything.* But there are higher motives. Is it not worth aspiring to, to feel that one has discharged his duty towards his superiors to the best of his ability, "with good will doing service as unto God, and not unto men?" Is it nothing to have soothed the sorrows of a heart which was ready to break,—to have supported a mind from sinking under its load,—or to have calmed an irritation of temper which might have burst forth into desperation? Crimes of a desperate character, by desperate men in prison, are often prevented by the steady, consistent, feeling conduct of officers.

But who is that wretched man in yonder felon's cell? or that twice-fallen woman in her prison dress? Once they were children, blithe and merry, their father's pride and their mother's joy. They grew up, and for a while were virtuous, and they were happy and free. Oh! how sadly altered now! Who are they? That man is thy brother; that woman, thy sister. Oh! act as a brother towards them. "Which of you," said our blessed Lord, "shall have an ass or an ox fallen into a pit, and will not straightway pull it out?" Wilt thou let thine own flesh and blood lie in a more pitiable condition, and not

hasten to deliver? Remember that rule: "*The great object of reclaiming the criminal should always be kept in mind by every officer.*" But where is this high tone of feeling to come from? From the benign and blessed religion of the Gospel. Yes, the individual who has been, by Divine grace, brought to know what sin really is, so as to have sought his own pardon as one guilty in the sight of God, will feel for his fellow-creature, condemned by human laws indeed, and an outcast from society, but in the sin which is the cause and the worst part of crime, obnoxious to the Divine justice like himself.

The *real Christian is himself a pardoned convict.* —He has obtained liberty only through the intercession and good deeds of that adorable One, who in infinite love submitted to servitude, and suffering, and death for his redemption. By the death of the sinless Jesus, he, a guilty and condemned sinner, has obtained life. By His resurrection, free and full justification, with a title to an inheritance in the kingdom of glory, and by the sanctifying grace of his Holy Spirit, a meetness for that glorious possession. As he grows in grace and the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ, and knows more of the vileness of his own heart, and the utter worthlessness of his own doings; he feels more for his fellow-sinner, hates more all wickedness in others, and strives the more zealously and lovingly to reclaim the wanderer, to reform the criminal, to save the sinner. "Brethren," says St. Paul, "if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual,

restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted." Gal. vi. 1.

But an officer may say, Can a man in my situation be thus a real disciple and follower of Christ? —it seems impossible. If it be impossible, then, in the name of God, without delay, give it up; it is better for a man to lose his place than his soul! "What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul, or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" But it is not impossible. On the contrary, *the best way to discharge a man's duty is to be a decided and consistent Christian.* Alas! this is the almost universal excuse of men, when pressed by conscience, by God's Word, and by God's ministers, to give themselves to his service,—I cannot now; by-and-by I will. I shall be more favourably situated for religion after a while, have less to do, and more time for thought. —"Go thy way for this time, and at a more convenient season I will send for thee."

I tell thee, O man, solemnly and affectionately, this is an awful delusion of the soul which, unless removed, will end in thy everlasting shame and confusion of face. "*Now* is the accepted time, *this* is the day of salvation." It is in the time of God's choosing, and not man's, that repentance unto life is given, and salvation secured. That which keeps thee back from Christ, is *the evil heart of unbelief*, and not thy office or thy business. "Ye will not come to me, that ye may have life," was the com-

plaint of the Saviour over the Jews: it is his complaint now over thee.

From the want of faith in God's promises and threatenings, officers are more concerned about what their fellow-sinners think of them than about God's judgment. Next to the want of will in the natural man, this feeling, "I must do as others do," is the grand hinderance everywhere to a man's yielding himself to the service of God. *To be decided for Christ and religion, is to take up a peculiarity of position in a man's class.* It is to go against the stream of opinion around, and to condemn, silently at least, the practices of others. It is to experience in a man's self the truth of the apostle's words, "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution." Hence, in order to stand well with a man's comrades, or to escape from the sneers and banterings of the ungodly, reason is renounced, the convictions of conscience are belied, God is dishonoured, and the hopes of a blessed immortality beyond the grave, gradually, but in most cases, certainly and for ever extinguished. Yes, you have either no will to serve the Lord Jesus Christ, and therefore never pray for the power, or, having some feeble and faint desire of the kind, you do not cry to God for strength to go forward to take up the cross and follow Christ. Remember the words of the Lord: "He that is ashamed of me and of my word, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of the Father." To be ashamed of being the servant of God, the follower

of the blessed Redeemer! what ingratitude—what perversion of reason—what indescribable madness!

"Ashamed of Jesus! can it be?
A mortal man ashamed of thee!
Scorned be the thought, by rich and poor,
O may I scorn it more and more.

Ashamed of Jesus! of that friend
On whom my hopes of heaven depend!
No! when I blush, be this my shame—
That I no more revere his name.

Ashamed of Jesus! yes, I may,
When I 've no sins to wash away;
No tears to wipe, no joys to crave,
And no immortal soul to save.

Till then—nor is the boasting vain—
Till then, I 'll boast a Saviour slain;
And O, may this my portion be—
That Saviour not ashamed of me."

Indeed, for a man to say, My place, my family, or my business, prevents my being religious, *is no less than to throw upon God the blame, by whose providence he is so circumstanced.* It is also altogether to misunderstand the nature of true religion. Godliness is designed to fit a man for the duties of this life, as well as prepare him for a better; and is so really blessed a thing for calming the perturbation of temper, in the hurry and anxieties of secular

duties—for strengthening our weakness in temptation—for balancing the mind in prosperity, and cheering or supporting it when things are adverse—that the more arduous and embarrassing the office, the more earnestly should the possession of it be sought. True religion is God's own medicine for the ills, and troubles, and cares of life. "Godliness hath the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come." The excuse of official duty for not being religious is therefore a delusion, and those who give way to it are placed by their own repeated acts more and more under its soul-destroying influence; and repentance is put off, farther and farther, till the heart is "hardened through the deceitfulness of sin."

There is a day coming when vain excuses of this kind will not stand. They will not satisfy conscience on a death-bed; or if, by perpetual resistance, the conscience become "seared as with a hot iron," the delusion will be dissipated when the Lord shall appear, the Judge of all, by whose providence those very cares and anxieties, pleaded during life as excuses for not accepting his grace, were thrown around the man as the cords of his love, to draw him to Christ and salvation.

Let us take the case of an individual in the most difficult situation which can be conceived, and see, from the result, whether the service of God is incompatible with the right discharge of any lawful secular duties. The person I allude to is an officer in the army, brought up from childhood without the

true knowledge of God, or acquaintance with his holy Word, and surrounded to mature years with the most untoward circumstances as regards morals and religion, without one God-fearing friend, or a single guide to truth. He is a soldier in a heathen army, an officer over men, the fiercest, as well as the bravest in the world, in his age. In the course of his duty he is stationed in a land where alone the knowledge of the true God existed,—the land of Judæa. He is brought to reflection, he casts aside the prejudice and contempt with which every Roman was wont to view the Jews, embraces their religion, and becomes a bright example to God's own favoured people. This is no imaginary case. The Saviour of the world pronounced this wonderful encomium on the man: "I have not found so great faith, no not in Israel." Luke vii. 9.

It occurred a second time, as if to prevent for ever such vain excuses, in the case of Cornelius, Acts x. This centurion also was most remarkably favoured. Upon the preaching of an apostle, brought by express Divine direction to teach him, the Holy Ghost in a miraculous manner descended upon him, "his kinsmen, and near friends," and they became the first-fruits of the Gentile world gathered to Christ. *Remember these cases of military men.* Most discipline officers seem to think, when we are expounding God's Word in their hearing, that it is for prisoners only. They are too often, alas! like the elder brother in the parable, or the Pharisee in the temple, proud and self-righteous. "They that be

whole need not a physician, but they that are sick." They are not conscious of any spiritual malady, they are not sick, they feel no need of Christ.

Prison chaplains have little encouragement in their ministry amongst prison officers. What, if we are ourselves in some measure the cause? Do we think of all, pray over all, and preach to all our hearers without distinction, bond or free, as those who are responsible for all, for the souls of the keeper as well as of his prisoner? I know the difficulty: officers must not be lowered before prisoners. Still, I believe it feasible. "If any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God."

What I have aimed at in my own ministry is, to identify myself with the officer in every address made particularly to his class, and from time to time selecting such passages of Scripture as those just referred to, to show the claims of religion upon all, and its compatibility with every *lawful employment*. Much, however, might be accomplished in private, with God's blessing; and to fulfil in some measure this duty towards the officers around myself, and to strengthen the hands of others in like circumstances, is the chief end I have in view in putting forth these remarks.

Whilst, however, mourning over the spiritual apathy of a respectable class, I thankfully recognize this encouragement at least,—that in every prison where there is the faithful preaching of the Gospel, the daily reading and exposition of God's Word, and the consistent example of an affectionate and

earnest minister, *the tone of feeling towards its unhappy inmates, and the mode of treating them, is decidedly better than where these things do not exist.* This is a great matter, although far short of what we wish to see. Another remark I am bound to make on this point. The officers whom I have been exhorting, may be upright in their conduct, and zealous and able in their duties, although so deficient as regards religion, having no communion with God, having no experience of the forgiveness of their own sins in Christ Jesus, or of the renewal of their hearts by the Holy Ghost. They are not to be confounded with the class of officers to whom the rules so pointedly refer.

It is a grievous thing to read in these rules—contemplating as they do, so high a moral standard for officers, and such active co-operation from them in the reformation of prisoners—of penalties to be inflicted upon officers for "*swearing and improper language, incurring debts which they are unable to pay, frequenting public-houses, keeping bad company, gambling, or card-playing,*" &c.

That men intrusted with the moral discipline of prisoners should themselves be guilty of these practices is preposterous, and discreditable in the highest degree. What! are not these some of the prominent causes of crime in those unhappy persons now committed to your charge? Surely, you would be alike forgetful of your duty, and the many sad examples before your eyes, if you would pursue a course which militates so directly against the law,

under which you are called to act; which would frustrate the efforts of humanity and religion in behalf of these poor men,—which would degrade you in the eyes of those who are under your charge, —and which, if persisted in, will most probably be followed by disastrous personal consequences. These prohibitory regulations, I grieve to say, are no dead letter. They are too much needed. Select a body of men ever so carefully, you will find improper persons, when tested by experience, amongst them. The history of every prison with which I am acquainted, illustrates this truth too plainly. I throw out a hint on this point. Let every officer in a prison make out for himself a list of officers who have been dismissed within a few years, and put opposite to their names the cause; then let him ask, What has become of those men, who took such pains, by the solicitation of friends, by personal interviews, and by testimonials, to secure the appointment of which their misconduct subsequently deprived them? In general, as degraded men, they have been compelled to take very inferior employment, or are in miserable poverty. *Who can help a man to an office of trust who has violated trust? Who can recommend, for a duty which requires perfect sobriety at all times, a frequenter of the public-house?* It has been perfectly astonishing to observe, apart from all considerations of morals and religion, the reckless conduct of some officers of this character. Their appointment was everything to them and their families. They eagerly tried for it;

but, when they gained the situation, acted as if it were worth nothing, or as if they were entitled to hold it without any honest effort to perform its duties.

The natural consequence was, they lost it, and with it *their character and chance of other employment.* The same men, who, when they had their pay, could not dispense with the luxury of the cigar, the daily allowance of a very questionable beverage, the evening lounge in the tavern or public-house, or some other supposed necessary which the usages of a man's class create for him, had, for their folly, to go wearily and sadly along the rest of their dishonoured lives, without sufficient meat often, or clothing for themselves, their wives, or their children, whom it may be, after all, they love most tenderly. Common sense, ordinary good conduct, and a little self-denying frugality, would have secured for them a continuance, or an increase of comforts; but without strength of character enough to say, "*No*, I do not approve, or, I cannot afford it;" or sense enough to sit down and do a simple sum in moral arithmetic, and see what an amount of necessaries and comforts, for sickness or old age, may be secured by giving up unnecessaries and imaginary luxuries, and what a state of mental satisfaction and manly independence may be attained by a right course, instead of the miserable labour and anxiety which they have to submit to who borrow money from lending societies, &c., they have unhappily reaped the fruits of their own sowing, and gathered the discomforts in abundance of that irreligion which has so fre-

quently the curse of the life that now is, and so certainly of that which is to come. The real necessaries of life may be cheapened; it makes no difference with persons of this improvident class. They enlarge their desires, increase their expenses, and adopt a higher style of living. They are often the poorer for advantages of this kind. I never could tell why men should not be content with the same amount of comforts which their fathers, or those of the last generation in like circumstances, were satisfied with, and to be in their station respected and respectable as they were. Many are not content with anything of the kind, and so they sink below the real respectability of their fathers. They must dress better, furnish their houses better, live more delicately, see more sights, and *be more like the class above them.* Thus they incur debts which they are not able to pay; go to loan societies to help them to clear off these, and contract new ones with heavy interest, and then have a serious addition put on everything they purchase, because they are not punctual in their payments.

It requires but a few years of folly of this kind, to make a salary of £60 or £70 a year of no more real value than £40 or £50 on the frugal, paying-as-you-get plan, and so to entangle and hamper a man that he has neither proper spirits for his work nor any comfort at home. His health, his character, or both, in consequence give way.

Perhaps the subordinate officer will say, It is easy for a gentleman to talk in this way; he can know

little of such difficulties as mine. This is a mistake. There are thousands of persons in the situation of the writer, in the Established Church and out of it, whose available incomes from all sources are not a whit better than those of warders, clerks, and schoolmasters in prisons. There are thousands of gentlemen in the army, and in the learned professions, &c., who have to struggle on for years before they obtain a situation, or pay equal, all things considered, to that of some subordinate officers in our prisons. I am far from thinking the pay of subordinate officers excessive. It is not as good as I should wish to see it. I thoroughly concur in the view taken by a late Chancellor of the Exchequer, when, in answer to an Honourable Member's motion for a revision of official salaries, he concluded by saying, "that there were not above 50,000 persons engaged in the civil service of the country; that there was no nation served by so few people, proportionately to the work they had to do, and served so well; and *that the way to insure heart-service, and not lip-service*, was, *in every department, to pay poor servants well, treat them with consideration and kindness*, and *not to discourage them by seeming willing to sacrifice their feelings and interests.*" My argument is, that whatever a man's salary is, he ought to live within it, and encounter rather the difficulties of self-denial and frugality for a time, than the discredit and lasting misery which follow an opposite course. Let not the times we live in be blamed. If they have their peculiar difficulties

and temptations, they have their helps too, in more than proportionate abundance. To refer only to one —the better means of mental occupation and improvement than existed in the last generation. I do not mean by reading trashy books or Sunday newspapers, which are intellectual as well as moral poison, but by pursuing some one or more subjects of wholesome study, for which there is some taste. *True intellectual cultivation ceases when moral or religious declension begins.* Let a man take to the proper cultivation of his mind in his leisure hours, and he will bear to be alone, or, if he has a family, he will be happiest at home, and soon rise above the folly and the extravagance of inhaling and puffing out smoke, and the graver criminalities of the bottle. The habit of smoking has grown, of late years, into a vice, as well as a nuisance. In the army it called forth the following order from its late illustrious chief:—

"*General Order,*
Horse Guards, 20th November, 1845.

"The Commander-in-chief has been informed that the practice of smoking, by the use of pipes, cigars, or cheroots, has become prevalent among the officers of the army, which is not only in itself a species of intoxication, occasioned by the fumes of tobacco, but *undoubtedly occasions drinking and tippling by those who acquire the habit.* He entreats officers commanding regiments to prevent smoking in the mess-rooms of their several regiments, and in the adjoining apartments, and to discourage the practice among the officers of junior rank in their regiments.

John Macdonald,
Adjutant-General."

I have seen cases of folly and ruin, such as I have referred to, in this prison. I have forewarned the individuals, in private, of the coming calamity, but in vain. When men get into a certain *habit*, or run a certain length in an evil course, nothing short of a miracle of grace can save them—nothing but downright poverty and distress can arouse them to a proper sense of their condition. My heart sickens at the remembrance of these unhappy persons; and I think, when I see or hear of them, how happy, useful, and respected they might have been—how degraded and wretched they are. Persons in this situation unhappily imagine that the more they ape the higher classes, the more they will be thought of. It is a miserable mistake. Such conduct is calculated to make them ridiculous. I never knew an instance to the contrary. A steady, consistent course in that state of life in which it has pleased God to place a man, is the best means of obtaining the good opinion of our equals, if they are men of sense, and most decidedly of our superiors. To dress one's self or one's family beyond one's proper position, or otherwise to exceed propriety and prudence in expenditure, under the notion of attaining to greater respectability, is to misunderstand altogether the meaning of the word. I am far from wishing to confine my remarks here to subordinates. The folly has less to excuse it in those of my own rank and profession.

The officers of Pentonville and Portland Prisons will remember the case of ——, a prisoner under

their charge, but a short time previously, *himself an officer in charge of prisoners.* Up to his promotion to a situation fully corresponding with that of Governor of an ordinary prison, he seems to have been really a respectable person, and to have brought up his children well. At least, he was no hinderer, by immorality or otherwise, as far as I can learn, to his more worthy partner's efforts in this respect, upon whose Christian management the children's conduct reflect, and will continue, I trust, to reflect, the greatest credit.

Through the kindness of influential persons who had opportunities of observing the family, he got an appointment, rather, perhaps, too much above his natural position (always in itself an evil, unless there be more than ordinary good sense in the individual, or real godliness). Prosperity and pride, I suppose, bred irreligion and sensuality. He gradually neglected religion, and at last gave it up—violated his convictions—formed an improper intimacy (first observed by prisoners)—embezzled money—fled—spent all—gave himself up to justice (he said through remorse)—was convicted, and, as a felon, was immured in this prison, which a twelvemonth before, or less, he had entered as a visitor, to receive instruction in the discharge of the duties over prisoners, then devolving upon him.

A ruin in character, and, I fear, in health—a miserable and degraded outcast from his family and country—that individual stands forth a ter-

rible warning to officers having the oversight of prisoners.

Every congregation of prisoners brought under the officer's eye in our own chapel, *has many instances of the like descent from station and respectability*, in consequence of the habits reprobated in the rules which form the foundation of these remarks.

There are yet two points on which I would briefly touch, referred to in the rules.

The first is, the *high duty of always speaking the truth.* The officer is bound to report to the Governor all breaches of discipline: let him be careful to do so without exaggeration or any degree of colouring. If he entertain a doubt as to the individual, let him state it. If he has anything to offer in extenuation, let him not be so ungenerous, or rather so unjust and cruel, as to keep it back. Let him remember, that the prisoner in general can have no witness on his side, and that his officer's word will be taken, if there be contradiction, by the authority which awards punishment, and that the punishment may be lasting as it is severe—affecting his condition for life. If the officer's own temper has given occasion to the offence of the prisoner, let him be manly enough to own it. Let the awarder of punishment, moreover, bear constantly in mind the possibility of provocation on the part of the officer, his liability to err, and the disposition to exaggerate, so natural to man. Let him weigh all extenuating circumstances, and consider well the

peculiarities of disposition in prisoners, and the fact that the punishment which is a terror to one is mere play to another. Let him also remember, that, as judge himself, he may greatly err, and in doubtful cases, therefore, let him incline to mercy. A slight wrong done to a prisoner may be the cause of irreparable mischief. A considerate allowance of circumstances, or a doubt in his favour, with a faithful and affectionate admonition at the time, may be the turning-point of his life for good.

The other matter is: *familiarity of officers with prisoners.* The same rules which require the prisoner to be treated with the utmost humanity, strictly prohibit all intercourse of officers and prisoners, beyond what is absolutely necessary. This is a wise precaution. Constant intercourse with criminal or fallen characters, unless there be a good object in view, or at least a conscientious sense of duty, leads to the lowering of the moral tone of feeling in the superior, without benefit to the inferior.

In conclusion, as I said to the officers, whom I addressed more particularly in the first part, I would say now to you, If you would discharge your duties to man aright, you must begin by remembering your obligations to God. If you would learn to hate sin and pity the sinner, you must go to the cross of Calvary yourself, and see what Christ, the spotless and the blessed one, suffered for your sin, from love to your soul. Ah! where should you or I, or the best of men, be, after

this our mortal existence, if He had not thus died, "the just for the unjust, to bring us to God?"

If you desire to rise to the dignity and blessedness of the true Christian, living for the glory of God and the good of your fellow creatures, fulfilling aright the duties of that station of life into which it has pleased God to call you, "Seek *first* the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." The world says, *last*. The deceitful heart of man says, *last*. The enemy of souls says, *last*. The Redeemer of the soul, and the Judge of all men, says, *first*. Seek then the Lord, *first—now*—"while he may be found, call upon him while he is near."

Happily, there are instances of officers advancing in personal character, instead of retrograding. My prayer is, that their hands may be strengthened by these remarks—that their number may be greatly increased, until the true profession of Christ's holy religion may become as general amongst those who have the oversight of prisoners, as it is now, notwithstanding much improvement, unhappily rare.

The keeper of the prison in Macedonia (Acts xvi.), in his unconverted state, was so harsh as "to *thrust* Paul and Silas into the *innermost* prison, and to make their *feet fast in the stocks*," and so proud and impetuous in spirit, that when he thought his prisoners had escaped he drew his sword to take away his life. Of the same man, under the Divine Spirit's power through belief in the truth which Paul preached, we read, "In the same hour of the night, he took

them and washed their stripes; and when he had brought them into his house, he set meat before them, and rejoiced, believing in God with all his house."

SPEAK GENTLY!

Speak gently: it is better far
To rule by love than fear;
Speak gently, let not harsh words mar
The good we might do here.

Speak gently to *the young*, for they
Will have enough to bear;
Pass through this life as best they may,
'Tis full of anxious care.

Speak gently to *the aged one*,
Grieve not the care-worn heart;
The sands of life are nearly run,
Let such in peace depart.

Speak gently, kindly to *the poor*,
Let no harsh tones be heard;
They have enough they must endure,
Without an unkind word.

Speak gently to the erring, know
That thou thyself art man;
Perchance unkindness made them so,
Oh win them back again.

The foregoing address, in its original form, was placed in the hands of every subordinate officer in the convict service, by order of Sir George Grey, the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

I would venture now to add a few remarks, for the consideration of superior officers in prisons, and

those who have the selection and supervision of them in their responsible duties. I do so, I am well aware, at the risk of being considered very presumptuous; but as, in the first instance, I took up my pen to benefit (if it might be), rather than to please men, so now I feel this to be more plainly my duty, because of the unexpected degree of influence which has since, by the public, been attached to these pages.

To begin with officers of my own class. The improvement in the penal institutions of England has in nothing been more apparent than in the department of the chaplain.

The gaol chaplain of the old school, (like another functionary, not to be named,) was an official kept for state occasions, then so terribly frequent, and not for the every-day exercise of his ministry amongst the unhappy and guilty persons committed nominally to his spiritual care. He was taken of necessity from the roughest mould, as one who had to encounter continually the recurrence of appalling spectacles (a single one of which would fill many a man's mind with horror for a lifetime), not as a distant spectator, but standing on the very brink of the fearful precipice down which he witnessed his hapless fellow-men successively hurled. His business was not to seek to reform the living, and to benefit society in their improvement, but adhering to the traditional usages of his office from Papal times, to administer to those appointed to die "the consolations of religion," as the phrase still is, and, in general, "the holy sacrament." The penitent and

impenitent alike received comfort at his hands. Remorse and anguish of soul too readily passed for contrition.

The duty which was thus assigned to the chaplain helped further to unfit him for the real work of a minister of the Gospel. It is not long since an invalided chaplain of a certain gaol died, and in a cabinet of curiosities which he left, there were noted as articles of *vertu* of the rarest kind, various relics taken from the persons of notorious highwaymen and murderers whom he had attended to the scaffold, which he was wont in his life to exhibit and dilate on to the curious. Another has just gone to his account, of like character. The judge of assize, a man of humanity and religion, had delayed sentencing a prisoner convicted of a capital offence to the following morning. In the interval, he found occasion to converse with the chaplain, and asked him his opinion as to what might be a reasonable time within which contrition in a criminal might be looked for. "You mean," says the chaplain, "sufficient to prepare him to die! I would undertake, my lord, to prepare any man for death in three weeks."—"Indeed!" replied the judge, with an air of incredulity and reproof. His sense of religion was shocked, and next morning he sentenced the criminal to transportation for life, remarking to the sheriff that he dared not incur the responsibility of leaving the wretched man to die under such an instructor.

In our time, probably no part of the church is served by more excellent, faithful, and painstaking

clergymen than the prisons of England. Their own higher characters and the duties now assigned to them, however, expose them to peculiar difficulties. So long as the chaplain had to confine himself to a mere round of professional acts, and looked indulgently upon others' derelictions of duty, there was no likelihood of any misunderstanding with the lay officials around him. They lived generally on the best terms with one another; the governor, in many gaols, frequently reading prayers for the chaplain when he failed to come. The evil to be apprehended now, is the invasion of the governor's province by the chaplain, from over-earnestness in his profession, or a wrong estimate of his position and duties. Discretion is not always the companion of zeal, nor good common sense of undoubted talent or genuine piety. Some chaplains, conscious of their moral superiority, aim at what does not belong to them in a prison—official pre-eminence; or, mistaking their vocation, intermeddle with matters of mere discipline; or, as if they had not responsibility enough in the exercise of their own most onerous duties, seem anxious to take upon them that of governor, and others even in higher authority. These are very great mistakes, and they are too common, producing, in many gaols, disputings and bickerings, which turn off attention from weighty matters, and end in mutual distrust and ill-will. By such means a minister of religion assuredly loses his proper influence. As an order of men, it must be confessed, we are dogmatical and intolerant of others'

opinions, above most classes, whether from our occupying the chair of the lecturer and instructor so continually, or from the deference so freely paid to us as clergymen, or from both these causes.

The highest far of all our duties is, beyond question, the full and faithful exercise of "the ministry of reconciliation as ambassadors of Christ" to the poor people committed to our charge, in the pulpit and the cell. If this be not interfered with, we have the greatest power for good placed in our hands, and may well bear with many hinderances and disagreeables in other things. If this our ministry be thoroughly entered into, a thousand offices of sympathy and kindness towards our flock will follow, and react again, with God's blessing, upon their spiritual condition.

To discipline and improve the intellectual capacities of the prisoner, by education, books, and every available means, is a high duty of a chaplain, and a most interesting one.

A more difficult task than either to the faithful chaplain—yet one that cannot be dispensed with—is formally to report upon all matters coming legitimately before him, to those under whom he is placed, and who have the supreme direction of affairs. In this delicate work, he should keep himself aloof from all party feeling, or prejudice in favour of this or that system, and be above every species of exaggeration. Where other officers are concerned, he should deal frankly with them, as circumstances occur and give opportunity of explanation, and by no means treasure

up grievances for some favourable occasion. If important, they should have been noticed at once. He should conceal nothing in his reports in connexion with religion, or morals, or education, in the prison, or with the treatment of the prisoner, which the authorities ought to know, and cannot know otherwise. In no part of his duty will he find more need of prudence and caution, combined with fearlessness of personal consequences. Having faithfully reported, he transfers the burden to other shoulders, and may return, with satisfaction, to his blessed and honourable work. An assistant-chaplain has not the responsibility of reporting, unless to his principal, or when in complete charge of the prisoners, or when called upon by the governing body.

I must pass on now to speak of governors and their duties, not indeed in my capacity of chaplain, but as an individual writing for the public. The tendency of power is to absolutism and tyranny. The governor of a gaol, within certain limits defined by the law, is possessed of great power. Invested with the keys of office, he reigns over subordinates and prisoners, in the best visited prisons, almost every hour of the day. His commands must be obeyed. In general, he can inflict fines upon officers, and by law can punish prisoners with solitude, darkness, and bread and water for three days. He can report and recommend both for higher penalties. He has the ear of the visiting magistrates, and if possessed at all of their confidence, or even of good personal address, he can influence their minds to a

serious extent. He has control over all witnesses within his dominion, and can make his favour or displeasure sensibly felt. He may worry his officers with impunity, stop their promotion, and refuse satisfactory testimonials to them upon leaving. In nine cases out of ten, the exercise of this petty sovereignty, when not effectually controlled by superior authority, or public opinion, proves prejudicial to the individual himself, as well as to the establishment over which he has been placed. In cases not a few, now within our own knowledge, the temptations of the office in these and other respects were too strong for the possessors, and they have ended their career in utter disgrace and abject poverty, as fugitives from justice, or like the wretched person referred to in a previous part of this chapter.

There are ungodly governors, who treat all religion as a delusion, or, at best, a merely subordinate agency, and they infuse too readily their own spirit into their officers, from whom it passes, by easy transition, upon the unhappy prisoner. Some attend the church service only by deputy, or so seldom, and then so listlessly, that every one can see they come for mere show, or detection, or from constraint, not from any interest in that which after all must be admitted, except by infidels, to be the prime agency for reforming the characters of the fallen, and restoring them to society as useful members. Many have not an idea in their system of government of any moral influence. The fine for the officer, the dark cell for the prisoner, and a suspecting surveillance over all,

is to do everything. The result is, an instant but heartless obedience; mutual distrust amongst officers, with an unanimous dislike to their chief; and a confusion of mind in prisoners between acts of folly and of guilt, when they see that one penalty awaits all offences alike.

There are, happily, governors the reverse of all this (several have already in these pages been referred to), who take the liveliest interest in the moral elevation of the prisoner, and encourage everything tending in that direction; who sustain a high influence over officers and prisoners, by a just and strict discipline, a courteous and kind treatment of subordinates; but most of all, by the example of their own personal character, and diligence in the performance of duty.

In conclusion, I would add a thought or two for the consideration of magistrates having the oversight of our gaols.

This is a prison-palace-building age. Unquestionably, good construction is a great point, and public edifices should never be unsightly nor unmeaning objects. It is immensely more important, however, in the question of prison improvement, to consider how the prison shall be officered, than how the materials of brick and mortar shall be disposed. Experience has already too painfully shown how, with all the external and internal architectural improvements of prison building, you may have yet, in the living machinery by which mind and character are to be disciplined, a system of folly or cruelty carried out

which would have disgraced even Newgate in Howard's days. The magistrates of Birmingham seem to have thought their work completed when they paid the last bill for the elegant prison structure which adorns their suburbs, whereas it was only then fairly begun. Beyond the selection of a good chaplain, and a few worthy minor officials, they appear to have taken but little pains in getting good officers—or they were the most unfortunate of men—and then everything was left to find its own level, and the hackneyed "*all right*" of their functionaries was sufficient attestation of the discharge of their own most important duty as visitors. But not to be tedious in my homily to visiting justices (the greater part of whom, however, I do not address, for they are far above my praise or censure), I would sum up my remarks in a few short sentences.

1. Do not select for your superior officers men who have prison crotchets, nor yet untried men who have mere paper qualifications. For governors, choose men of *well-known* ability, discretion, and humanity—men of fixed principles in religion, and, *cæteris paribus*, educated gentlemen. Let your medical men not only have their professional diplomas and proper skill, but also good moral characters, and good repute for kindness to the poor. In your chaplains, look for the same qualifications, combined with an "aptness to teach," and the well-earned reputation of the painstaking pastor, especially amongst the lower classes and the poor. There are many such in your manufacturing towns and else-

where. Beware of formalists and ceremonialists. There is acting enough among criminals.

Pension off old servants. Do not imagine that you can make them effective agents of an improved style of discipline by giving them an uniform, with bright buttons, instead of their private clothes; or the euphonious designation of warders, instead of turnkeys.

2. Having chosen your officers, and found them efficient, treat them liberally, raise their pay and promote their comfort, and that of their families, in every way, that they may have a beneficial interest in the concern. Dismiss at once the improper. One or two hands less, and the rest above par, will do more real work. It is most preposterous to be negligent or stingy in these things, and profuse to extravagance in things of show. Some of my brethren, it is to be feared, domiciled in the spacious and costly edifices which ornament the grand entrances of new prisons (as in Wandsworth new House of Correction), or disfigure it (as in the new City Prison at Holloway), are in danger of getting into the debtors' side of their own prison, from the disproportionate style of their stipends. In itself this is a great mistake. A large house is a large drawback upon salary, where private means do not exist, and pupils are properly prohibited. Warders are miserably stinted, and every expense connected with educational and moral improvement grudged in some prisons, built at enormous cost, ostensibly for improved prison discipline. Raise the moral tone of your officers, and

you may hope beneficially to influence your criminals.

3. Gentlemen, visit your prisons; visit—visit—visit. Not the governor's or chaplain's office, or the board-room merely; but the prison cells—the prison schools—the prison church—the prison-officers' quarters—the prisoners. See with your own eyes; hear with your own ears. Converse with officers of every grade, concerning their duties. Instruct them how to treat their prisoners. The dignified, unaffected manner, and the gentle voice, which mark the highly born in their intercourse with their inferiors, will in themselves be a lesson to officers, and leave a salutary impression upon the whole establishment. Your presence during divine service (not with friends to gaze, and, least of all, ladies) will show to all its importance in your esteem, and render it unnecessary to enforce attendance upon governors. Your perfect supervision will prevent difficulties—disorders—outbreaks; it may be, suicides—cruelties. Howard's first enterprise of prison benevolence was as a magistrate in his own prison (and no charity is worth much which does not begin at home). If you must have a day's hunting or shooting in the week, let a previous hard day's work in the prison add a healthful zest to your pastime.

CHAPTER VII.

EFFECTS OF CHRISTIAN TREATMENT UPON PRISONERS.

"And Moses cried unto the Lord; and the Lord shewed him a tree, which when he had cast into the waters, the waters were made sweet."—Exodus xv. 25.

The worse a man is, the more need he has of Christian treatment, and there is no hope from any other. Ordinary motives to virtue may have weight with persons before the loss of character and self-respect. After this, they become comparatively powerless, and there is absolute need of the sublime and gracious doctrines of the Gospel to elevate the mind and character. Wherever Christianity has been brought to bear upon criminals, in its real power and blessedness, good has been accomplished, although under the most untoward circumstances: sinners have been brought to Christ and salvation; and the mass, if not converted unto God, have been marvellously civilized.

The reader of the foregoing pages will not have failed in collecting and observing many illustrations of those principles already. The contrast in the treatment, of convicts under the old system,

and the present, has convinced, I hope, the most sceptical that the application of the Gospel is the best remedy for the worst diseases of man's depraved nature; and the law of love, the most effectual for restoring to order the wild turbulence of human passions. It may be well, however, to add a few more instances, and to notice some illustrious persons who made full experiment of these truths.

* "In December, 1798, Dr. Vanderkemp, accompanied by three brother missionaries, Messrs. Kitcherer, Edwards, and Edmonds, sailed for the Cape of Good Hope. The vessel in which they sailed was the *Hillsborough*, a Government transport-ship, bound for New South Wales with convicts. Among these miserable creatures the missionary brethren determined to commence a course of instruction. They were told, indeed, that if they ventured into the hold among the convicts, they would certainly throw a blanket over them, and rob them of whatever they had in their pockets; but, notwithstanding this representation, the missionaries determined to make the attempt, and happily they were received with every mark of respect, and listened to with the greatest attention. By the kindness and affability of their manners, they in a few days so conciliated the regard of the prisoners, that they found themselves completely at their ease among them, ventured into the midst of them without the smallest dread, and conversed as freely with them as if they had been their most intimate friends and acquaintances.

* Missions in Caffraria. (Nisbet.)

This was the more remarkable, considering the manner in which others were handled by them. One day, before they sailed from Portsmouth, several naval officers came on board in search of some deserters, who, it was supposed, had concealed themselves among the convicts; but no sooner had one of the officers, with his men, attempted to pass the entrance of the orlop deck, than the prisoners seized him, beat him most unmercifully, and wounded him in the head with his own dagger. Two days after, a cutter, with some officers, and a detachment of marines, came to renew the search; but the convicts threatening to murder them if they entered the hold, they wisely desisted from the attempt. About the same time, the prisoners engaged in a plot to murder the officers of the *Hillsborough*, seize the vessel, and carry her over to France; and, though the conspiracy was providentially discovered and defeated, yet this did not hinder them, about ten days after, from entertaining the horrid design of sinking the vessel, and escaping in the boats; and, with this view, many of them had even found means to cut off their chains and handcuffs.

"Such was the description of men among whom the missionaries sought to labour at the hazard of their lives. About *two hundred and forty* of these miserable creatures were *chained in pairs, hand to hand or leg to leg*, in the orlop deck, to which no light could find admission except at the hatchways. At first, the darkness of the place, the rattling of the chains, and the dreadful imprecations of the prison-

ers, suggested ideas of the most horrid nature, and combined to form a lively picture of the infernal regions. Besides, in a short time, a putrid fever broke out among the convicts, and carried off no fewer than thirty-four of them during the voyage to the Cape of Good Hope. The state of the prison was now loathsome beyond description, yet, in this as well as in the hospital, surrounded with infection, disease, and death, did the missionaries daily labour to pluck these brands from everlasting burnings. Nor did they seem to labour in vain. In a short time, a number of these unhappy outcasts appeared to be impressed with anxious concern about their souls. Some of them even agreed to have a prayer-meeting among themselves three times a week. Many who once could scarcely speak but to blaspheme, had learned the songs of Zion, and their horrid imprecations were changed into the language of humble praise. There even seemed reason to hope, that some of those who died, departed in the faith of Christ, and were admitted into 'the general assembly and church of the first-born,' to unite with them in the sacred services of the temple of God on high."

The following is an account, given in "The Convict Ship," by Dr. Browning, of the results of Christian treatment upon criminals, many of whom were doubly and trebly convicted felons :—

"*Impression Bay, Tasman's Peninsula,*
"*Van Diemen's Land, April* 8.

"Arrived this morning. Debarkation has taken place. Voyage completed in one uniformly interesting style. Not one punishment on board. The behaviour of the prisoners surprised everybody,—and themselves more than any. I can scarcely say I received a complaint from the petty officers during the passage. Just before they debarked, the prisoners unanimously voted an address to me, which is full of interesting statements, and is signed on behalf of all by the petty officers and heads of messes. They speak of the triumph of Christian instruction and faithful kindness over mere brute force.

"*The men were given to me in double irons; I debarked them without an iron clanking among them.* I am told that this is the first and only instance of convicts removed from Norfolk Island having their irons struck off during the voyage, and being landed totally unfettered. They are almost uniformly cross-ironed, and often chained down to the deck, everybody afraid of them. I was among them at all hours, and the prison-doors were never once shut during the day.

"To God be all the glory! The Gospel of his well-beloved Son, and gracious answers to believing prayer, have been all the means. All is of Christ Jesus!"

Similar results followed a second deportation in 1847, by Dr. Browning, of convicts:—

"We had no punishments; improper speech had almost entirely vanished; and the general behaviour of the men excited amazement and admiration: considering I had so few petty officers, it was equal, if not superior, to that of our first body of Norfolk Island men. J. K. W., whom I made my clerk and right-hand man, I found to be a Christian, brought to the saving knowledge of Christ through the deep and bitter waters of affliction. One after another was added to the number of the declared and apparently real followers of Christ, until it reached twenty-four, of whom about half seem to have been turned to the Lord since they came on board.

"One man, who had harboured a spirit of revenge towards a fellow-prisoner ever since he was detected in a plot to ruin him on their passage from England, embarked in this vessel with the fullest intention of taking the life of his enemy; but since he came on board, light had gradually shone into his mind, giving him to see himself in his true character; and last Sabbath, while at church in the prison, he was brought to cast himself at the feet of Jesus, confess his sins, forgive his enemy, and cherish towards him a spirit of peace and love.

"The power of Christianity on the minds and manners of the men, both in this trip and the former one, has exceeded anything of the kind I ever witnessed either at sea or on shore."

Such is Christian instruction and discipline in the hands of one whose motives and character are consistent enough to stand the watchful and experienced

scrutiny of bad men. Such an officer is looked up to almost as a being of a superior kind, and the inferior pays homage to the superior nature, and dreads his rebuke more than the lash or fetters of iron.

The next illustration is taken from a most interesting book, published by Hamilton and Adams ("The Seed of the Righteous") :—

"It would be wrong to pass unnoticed the blessings which attended Mr. Rogers's labours" (Rev. Thomas Rogers, who about the beginning of this century entered on those labours), writes his biographer, "as Chaplain to the House of Correction at Wakefield, which he found in a deplorable state of moral disorganisation; its inmates under no moral or religious restraint, and kept under only by force. On the first Sunday morning, he beheld nearly three hundred prisoners, *forty or fifty of whom were in irons;* and such was their conduct, their restlessness, fierceness, and contempt, that, as he wished the Governor good morning, Mr. Rogers said, 'You will never see me here again; I had never before such an idea of the infernal regions.' The Governor assured him they had never behaved so well before. By faithful perseverance, however, and the adoption of a judicious line of conduct towards the prisoners, the chapel soon presented a congregation as orderly and well-behaved as any other place of Christian worship.

"In his weekly visits to the wards he soon won upon their attention, and a desire to read was manifested; and, through the influence of some over

others, the wards ceased to be the scenes of daily uproar and confusion.

"The sick-room engaged much of his attention, and there is good evidence that some left it healed in soul as well as in body, and that others went from the sick bed of a prison to join the church of the First-born in the bright and holy regions of heaven. So effectual were Mr. Rogers's labours, that *irons were no longer necessary to restrain the convicts*, nor severity exercised; and many testimonies, given by visitors and strangers, served to prove that no establishment of the kind in the kingdom could exhibit more of order, comfort, and everything proper, than this one did. Such was the result of Christian patience, forbearance, and decision; and the exhibition of true religion, not in precept only, but in, what is far more persuasive, example."

Some most interesting instances of the like kind are given in "The Prisoners of Australia." (Hatchard.)

"Providentially, this man," says the writer, "had been assigned to the service of the Agricultural Company, and under the Christian teaching of Sir Edward Parry, both he and his wife had, humanly speaking, been led to see the folly of worldly wickedness, and the deep importance of those better things which now formed their highest privilege and consolation. Her husband, she said, had long since become a reformed character, and was now all that she could wish as a Christian husband and father. This account was afterwards affirmed to me by

others, who spoke of him as an honest, industrious, and most deserving man; and I also found that he gave many sweet evidences of his sincerity as a professing Christian. He never entered upon his daily labours, nor lay down to rest at night, without reading a portion from the Bible, and gathering his little family around him for prayer and thanksgiving. He devoted all his leisure hours to the instruction of his children in reading, writing, and arithmetic; and many there are who might add their testimony to mine, that these children, who never failed in their attendance on the church services, behaved with a quietness and reverential attention during the time of such services, that might prove them examples to many of our own more civilized families at home, who are educated with far higher advantages. These blessings were among the many fruits of the *missionary* exertions of Sir Edward Parry and his now sainted lady, who both lived in the grateful affections of many a chastened heart long after they had ceased to take a personal share in the interests of that far-distant colony. And if this be a case rather of exception than of general result, it is by no means a singular instance of excellent conduct, good order, and, at least, of moral reformation among the convict families of Port Stephen and other settlements connected with it, under the admirable government both of Sir Edward Parry and his talented successor. I would also instance the establishments of St. Helier's and St. Aubyn's, the joining possessions of that successor and his excellent brother, situated on the border of

the Hunter's River, about one hundred and eighty miles north-west of Sydney. The former has been already noticed by Dr. Lang, in his publication on Australia, as the best-organised farm in the colony. And why? Because the blessing of God was made the paramount interest, and Christian instruction the basis of its moral discipline; while every encouragement has been given to the efforts of industry and good conduct, and vice been visited with firm and judicious coercion. Far removed from the superintending care of any clergy, the beloved proprietor of this extensive property had not neglected to provide for the spiritual welfare of his exiled dependants. Divine service and a sermon were regularly read to them; together with rest, and every means of instruction afforded them on the Sabbath-day which circumstances permitted. Rewards were also occasionally distributed to the industrious and well-conducted, both among the men and women. Regular hours were preserved, and good order maintained as far as possible, where the master was himself necessarily removed from the personal charge of his estate; but never, I believe, were the returning visits of an absent master hailed with more grateful and cordial welcome than those of him who was beloved, respected, and honoured by all, even by those who also feared him. The establishment of St. Aubyn's was favoured with yet higher advantages; for although neither so extensive nor so advanced in its exterior operations, it had the privilege of a master's immediate superintendence, who was himself

peculiarly fitted for the duties of an arduous and most difficult stewardship. Here, too, the whole structure was raised upon the solid groundwork of religious principles. Yes, and under such circumstances of discouragement as few can imagine who know nothing of Australia,—who have never experienced the persevering opposition which, perhaps, in every country, more or less, follows upon the tread of a Christian's influence; but above all, where such influence is isolated, unsupported, ridiculed, and often slandered! Nevertheless, amidst all this the respected proprietor of St. Aubyn's steadily pursued a course of government which has been singularly blessed to many; and by united firmness in discipline, and uniform kindness and consideration towards his convict labourers, few masters in the colony have been so influential as himself in promoting the reformation and well-being of his dependants.

Morning and evening his family assembled for religious worship, at which all his household domestics were required to attend. Every Sunday morning he met the convicts of his farm establishment in a large barn, arranged for divine service as well as the nature of the building would admit, his own family being also present; while the Roman Catholics, whose attendance was not compelled, were, nevertheless, required to appear neatly dressed and ranged with the others, as prepared for prayers, that none might absent himself from the camp on that hallowed day, unnoticed by the master's eye:

but such as declined uniting in the Protestant prayer were expected to return quietly to their respective huts during the hours of divine service, that they might at least have time and opportunity for private devotion, if they chose to avail themselves of it, according to the dictates of their conscience. The remainder of the day was equally marked as a Sabbath-day, no work being permitted but that of actual necessity; even the family dinner was dressed on the preceding day, that the example of the master might prove to the servants how sacredly important he considered those duties to be which were enforced upon themselves; and to all this were added affectionate exhortation and counsel whenever circumstances called forth interference, reproof, or advice. Another admirable feature of judicious management was the permission granted to the prisoners of St. Aubyn's, of working after their appointed hours of service for pecuniary remuneration, according to the rate of free labour. Such devoted and disinterested care could not fail of producing vital benefits; nor do I hesitate to assert that many who came to their destined captivity ignorant, depraved, and profane, have become faithful servants both of God and man; manifesting their genuine repentance, and sincere desire to depart from all iniquity, by a change of heart and life, which soon springs up in fruits of grace and reformation. Some such have expressed to me with much feeling, that to the pious influence of their invaluable master and mistress, under God's bless-

ing, they trace that change and happier state of mind, and have deplored that their earlier career had not been blessed with such guidance and guardianship.

The "Memoir of Elizabeth Fry" is full of illustrations of the amazing power of the Gospel over the minds of the fallen, in the hands of devoted Christians. The following extracts will not be considered here out of place. The first is a description of the female wards in Newgate, given by a gentleman who visited the gaol one fortnight after the adoption, by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City, of the new rules proposed by Mrs. Fry's Committee for the better regulation, discipline, and instruction of female prisoners :—

"I went and requested permission to see Mrs. Fry, which was shortly obtained, and I was conducted by a turnkey to the entrance of the women's wards. On my approach, no loud or dissonant sounds or angry voices indicated that I was about to enter a place which, I was creditably assured, had long had for one of its titles that of 'Hell above ground.' The court-yard into which I was admitted, instead of being peopled with beings scarcely human, blaspheming, fighting, tearing each other's hair, or gaming with a filthy pack of cards for the very clothes they wore, which often did not suffice even for decency, presented a scene where stillness and propriety reigned. I was conducted by a decently-dressed person, the newly-appointed yard's-woman, to the door of a ward, where, at the head of

a long table, sat a lady belonging to the Society of Friends. She was reading aloud to about sixteen women prisoners, who were engaged in needlework around it. Each wore a clean-looking blue apron and bib, with a ticket having a number on it suspended from her neck by a red tape. They all rose on my entrance, curtsied respectfully, and then, at a signal given, resumed their seats and employments. Instead of a scowl, leer, or ill-suppressed laugh, I observed upon their countenances an air of self-respect and gravity, a sort of consciousness of their improved character, and the altered position in which they were placed. I afterwards visited the other wards, which were the counterparts of the first."

It need scarcely be added, that the book read to those poor people was the Word of God.

The following account of one of this singularly eminent woman's visits to a convict-ship, taken from the same volume, is exquisitely touching :—

"The last time that Mrs. Fry was on board the *Maria*, whilst she lay at Deptford, was one of those solemn and interesting occasions that leave a lasting impression on the minds of those who witness them. There was great uncertainty whether the poor convicts would see their benefactress again. She stood at the door of the cabin, attended by her friends and the captain; the women on the quarter-deck facing them. The sailors, anxious to see what was going on, clambered into the rigging, on to the capstan, or mingled in the outskirts of the group. The silence was profound, when Mrs. Fry opened her Bible, and,

in a clear, audible voice, read a portion from it. The crews of the other vessels in the tier, attracted by the novelty of the scene, leant over the ships on either side, and listened apparently with great attention; she closed the Bible, and after a short pause knelt down on the deck, and implored a blessing on this work of Christian charity from that God who, though one may sow and another water, can alone give the increase. Many of the women wept bitterly, all seemed touched; when she left the ship they followed her with their eyes and their blessings, until, her boat having passed within another tier of vessels, they could see her no more."

But it may be said, Elizabeth Fry was a person of no common-place mind and education, and those natural and acquired advantages would have given her a powerful influence, independent of religion, over the fallen of her own sex; and so they doubtless would have done, combined as these were in her with a kind and sympathizing heart. But she never could have reached the *conscience* by such means, nor have *kindled hope* within their breasts, were she not able as a believer, who had obtained mercy herself, to point them to Him who spurned not from his feet the woman that was a sinner, but pronounced so full and gracious a pardon upon the penitent; and it is beyond question, that were it not for the love of Christ constraining her, the thought of such a work would never have entered her mind; or, if entertained for awhile, her natural timidity, exquisite sensitiveness, and the very purity of her character,

would have made her shrink from its accomplishment. What woman but a Christian ever devoted herself to a work so arduous, self-denying, and repulsive as this, without fainting or wearying, to the end of life?

I pass now from Elizabeth Fry devoting the prime of her life, the gifts of her mind, and the graces of her person, to her Divine Master's service, in seeking to reclaim the fallen of her own sex, to a woman of like benevolence in humble life, who having been first brought herself "out of darkness into light," from scepticism and obduracy of heart, in fact, to be a meek and lowly follower of Jesus, felt a longing to impart, to prisoners and the poor, the blessings which she had received, and was enabled, in the providence of God, to do so in a very high degree, not only to the fallen of her own sex, but to male criminals also, in the gaol of Yarmouth—Sarah Martin.

Speaking of the moral and religious instruction communicated in that prison, Captain Williams, Government Inspector, reports:—

"With regard to this branch of my inquiry, the particulars are of so singular a nature, that it may be better to transcribe the notes made at the time.

"*Sunday, November 29th*, 1835.—Attended Divine service in the morning at the prison. The male prisoners only were assembled; a female, resident in the town, officiated; her voice was exceedingly melodious, her delivery emphatic, and her enunciation exceedingly distinct. The service was the Liturgy

of the Church of England; two psalms were sung by the whole of the prisoners, and extremely well,—much better than I have frequently heard in our best-appointed churches. A written discourse, of her own composition, was read by her; it was of a purely moral tendency, involving no doctrinal points, and admirably suited to the hearers.

"During the performance of the service the prisoners paid the profoundest attention and most marked respect, and, as far as it is possible to judge, appeared to take a devout interest. Evening service was read by her afterwards to the female prisoners. This most estimable person has, for the long period of seventeen years, almost exclusively given up her time to bettering the wretched condition of the prisoners who are confined in the gaol. She is generally there four or five times every week, and since her first commencing these charitable labours she has never omitted being present a single Sabbath-day. On the week-days she pursues, with equal zeal, a regular course of instruction with the male and female prisoners. Many of the prisoners have been taught to read and write, of which very satisfactory examples were produced; and the men are instructed and employed in binding books, and cutting out of bone, stilettoes, salt-spoons, wafer-stamps, and similar articles, which are disposed of for their benefit. The females are supplied with work according to their several abilities, and their earnings are paid to them on their discharge; in several instances they have earned sufficient to put

themselves in decent apparel, and be fit for service. After their discharge they are, by the same means, frequently provided with work, until enabled to procure it for themselves. Only *a single instance* is recorded of any insult being offered her, which was by a prisoner of notoriously bad character; upon this she gave up her attendance upon the ward to which he belonged: after his discharge, the other prisoners came forward and entreated most earnestly that she would be pleased to resume her visits.

"There are several cases where her attentions have been successful, and have apparently reclaimed the parties, if the continued good conduct of the discharged be admitted as satisfactory proof. That of four smugglers is singular, from the fact that, upon their discharge after a long imprisonment, they addressed the felons, and entreated them to listen to her advice and treat her with respect."

Six years subsequently to this period, the same gentleman, in his official report, makes the following remarks:—

"There being no chaplain regularly appointed by the town-council to perform the duties and take the responsibility of the office as required by law, I am of opinion that no time should be lost in making the appointment; the more so, as that extraneous assistance which has for so many years been so kindly and effectually rendered by the exemplary Miss Martin is now withdrawn for ever.

"This admirable person, of humble condition, but exalted mind, for a period of twenty-three years, and

until broken down in health for a short time before her death, devoted all her energies to the moral and religious instruction and reclamation of the otherwise utterly neglected prisoners in this gaol. Her influence over those who came within the pale of her attention was great, although her means were small, and her manner simple and unpretending in the extreme. She was no titular Sister of Charity, but was silently felt and acknowledged to be one, by the many outcast and destitute persons who received encouragement from her lips, and relief from her hands, and by the few who were witnesses of her good works."

As the description of the sermon, which Captain Williams heard, may leave a wrong impression, and, perhaps, different from what that gentleman meant to convey, when he said that it "involved no doctrinal points," *i.e.*, no abstract or abstruse disquisition in theology, it appears due to her memory to give here a short extract from one of her sermons:—

"'The Lord will have mercy: he will abundantly pardon.' Mark the riches of the blessing. Mercy in Christ,—pardon for his sake. This is just what we need. Oh! for a heart to embrace it! Mercy is an attribute of God, not opposed to his holiness, nor at war with justice; but it meets the eye of man in the incarnate Jehovah, the Saviour; for he displayed the Divine holiness in enduring the curse that sin deserved, for our salvation. He magnified justice by rendering perfect obedience to the Divine law, and making an atonement for sin; and now

the mercy which shines in his blessed work is set before us to engage our love, our gratitude, and our obedience. And can you resist it? Are you not subdued by the loving-kindness of Jesus,—of your God? Reflect on what is herein proposed to you. To make your guilt-stained soul as pure as an unfallen angel; to make you whiter than snow by the precious blood of Christ; to create a new heart, and renew a right spirit within you; to remove the filthy rags of self-righteousness from your soul, and clothe you with the righteousness of Christ."

In this sermon may be seen the constraining motive of Sarah Martin's life, and the secret of her strength.

Since writing the above, the following has fallen into my hands. It is an account given, by a convict to me, of the effects produced upon his fellow-prisoners at Woolwich, in consequence of the changes introduced in the hulks by Sir George Grey, who, having determined upon the thorough reform of these establishments in all things possible, concluded that the first thing to be done was to place them under the best Christian influence.

"At this time," writes the convict, "there was service once on a Sunday on board the *Justitia;* in the week, no religious instruction, no school, no library,—no care exhibited as to the moral improvement of the prisoners, from week's end to week's end. This was a lamentable state of things; but in the hospital ship, the almost total want of all these advantages was still more striking. When a prisoner

died, he was laid in a coffin—no shroud, nor anything but a little sawdust under the body; and, in a day or two, two men carried the coffin to the burial-ground, and placed it in the earth. Notice was then sent to the chaplain that a body was ready for having the funeral service read over it; and in a day or two more, he came down, went to the grave, attended by some one, and read the ritual, or part of it. When he did *not* come during the day to read prayers, they were read by one of the officers, or one of the prisoners. In the latter part of the period preceding his (the chaplain's) death, the writer read them every night, in presence of an officer.

"After his death, the appointment of a new chaplain was looked for by the prisoners with considerable curiosity,—I may say, anxiety. The complaints and observations as to the conduct of the former were loud and severe, his treatment of the sick especially, and also his mode of neglecting the corpse. He never spoke to a prisoner unless from necessity; but seemed, from the time he came on board, uneasy to get ashore again as soon as possible.

"The newly-appointed chaplain arrived (the Rev. Mr. Moran). Now indeed was a change. I remember well his first arrival, attended by two gentlemen. He went round to every bed that was occupied in the hospital, announced himself, talked (and prayed where desirable) to all of them in a kind manner, and took an early opportunity of addressing the convalescents. The following morning he read prayers. All those able to be up, went down

to the lower deck, under an opening, from whence all he said might be distinctly heard on the upper one; he read the prayers, and afterwards expounded a portion of Scripture; and if at any time thenceforth a prisoner wished any particular passage commented upon, he had only to write it out, and place it between the leaves of the chaplain's book, when his object was attained.

"Bibles, prayer-books, and hymn-books were distributed to each bed; and when it could be done without annoying any particular patient, a hymn was sung at the commencement of the service each day. A desk was made for the chaplain, and one attached to it for the prisoner who acted as clerk. On Sunday, service was regularly performed at a set hour, followed by a sermon—we never had sermons in hospital before—and everything conducted in a most regular manner. A library was got for the use of the prisoners; and the two gentlemen who came with the chaplain proved to be religious instructors, who daily attended to the sick, and read to them: the chaplain himself also visiting those in bed daily, and praying with them where he judged it necessary. All this gave the prisoners very great pleasure. They felt that they had now a friend they could confide their sorrows to, and one who to a most pleasing manner added a very benevolent character. Soon one of the patients died; and now a great degree of excitement was evinced as to his mode of burial,—whether, as the men said, he would be buried, as before, 'like a dog.' 'But,'

said they, 'Mr. Moran is a good man; he won't do that.' Suddenly, in a day or two, some one announced the moving of the funeral procession. Every one who could, ran on deck to see it; and even those in bed crawled to the port-holes to look at it. Mr. Moran, in his surplice, led. The body was borne next, covered with a pall, carried by four men, and followed by all the prisoners belonging to his (the dead man's) ward. The feeling evinced was not at the moment loud, but it was deep. Many an eye that had been a stranger to tears, now glittered with them; and when all was past, then the praises of the 'new parson' were indeed loud, numerous, and heartfelt. 'He does care for us,' said one; 'God bless him!' said another; 'Let us hope he will himself go to heaven,' said another, again; 'for he would get us there if he could. See how he visits us, and prays by us!' The contrast was complete. The conduct of the prior chaplain was the constant theme of blasphemous abuse; and it need not be said that this was not unfrequently a medium of scurrility against religion altogether; for prisoners are very severe in their observations on the conduct of their religious teachers. *Nothing escapes them;* and the negligence of the minister is sure to do injury to the cause of religion itself. But there was no more of this after Mr. Moran came,—he went through his duties in such a devout and careful manner."

From the perusal of the foregoing *facts*, I trust the reader will have strengthened in his mind, the

persuasion which experience has fixed upon my own, that the pure and benign religion of the gospel is the most powerful, and the most *economical* influence which can be brought to bear upon criminals, for their reformation or the good of society; and if this be so, then, doubtless, upon the population of which they are unfavourable specimens. Of no other law or system can it be affirmed, that it "is perfect, converting the soul." Assuredly, if we desire success in our labours, whether devoted to the reformation of the convicted and criminal outcast, or to the more worthy object of preventing crime and infamy by the removal of their causes, we must do so on the basis of a scriptural Christianity, which, implanting in the human breast the fear of God, gives the highest sanction to human laws, and the most enduring motives to obedience to authority, and although infinitely pure in itself, as well as in the source from which it springs, extends to suffering and guilty man a very real sympathy, which nothing else in this world does. It is "the leaves of the tree of life," which are appointed for "the healing of the people," and true religion alone can make sweet the bitter waters of guilt and sorrow.

One name, above all others, deserves to be mentioned in this connexion, that of the illustrious *John Howard*, the friend of the friendless and the benefactor of mankind, to whose virtues, when the world was doing homage, it was attesting unconsciously (partly from the unostentatiousness of

his piety, but much more from the anti-evangelical, if not Socinian leaven of his literary friends, upon whom his own deficiency in letters made him too dependent) the triumphs of a pure faith, and of the believing prayers of an humble follower of Christ.

Concerning this great man the following extract from the Third Report of Inspectors will supply some interesting information, and at the same time serve to show how men, to be presumed sound in their creed, whilst extolling his merits, resolve them all into little more than Christian courage, or a concern for the physical sufferings of prisoners :—

"The earliest steps which were taken in the improvement of prison discipline undoubtedly originated in the public exposure made by Mr. Howard of the deplorable condition of our gaols.

"He has himself ascribed the commencement of that interest, which he so long and ardently felt in the mitigation of the sufferings of prisoners, to an incident which occurred in the early part of his life. On his voyage to Lisbon, in 1755, which city he designed to visit immediately after the earthquake by which it had been destroyed, the packet in which he sailed was taken by a French privateer. The barbarous treatment which he, with the rest of the passengers, experienced in the castle of Brest, in a dungeon in which they were all confined for several days, led him, in the first instance, to seek the mitigation of the sufferings of such of his country-

men as were imprisoned in the places where he had himself been confined in France. This humane feeling gained further strength and development from what he observed in the prisons of his own country, and particularly from what came under his immediate notice, when some years after, 1773, he was high sheriff of the county of Bedford. He refers, in his account of the prisons of England and Wales, to the circumstances with which his discharge of the duties of that office made him acquainted, as those which excited him to undertake his humane journeys of inspection, in the course of which he visited most of the prisons in England. In 1774 he was examined on this subject by the House of Commons, and had the honour of receiving the thanks of that body.

"Together with the remonstrances of this distinguished benefactor of mankind, another circumstance powerfully co-operated to produce a general desire for the improvement of our prisons. At the termination of the American war, the loss of our transatlantic dependencies had deprived us of those remote colonies to which we had been accustomed for a long time to transport many of our convicted felons, and imposed on us the necessity of immediately devising a substitute for the system of transportation which had been hitherto pursued.

"The result of this combination of humane remonstrance and political necessity appears to have been, a general desire that something should be speedily done to improve our prison discipline. The

first impulse to public feeling was given by the labours of Howard; and great is the obligation which the cause of humanity owes to the unwearied industry and ardent benevolence of this distinguished philanthropist. His labours were rewarded by that deep and national feeling of commiseration for the sufferings of prisoners, which followed that faithful exposure of them, which his earnest wishes for their mitigation and his truly Christian courage prompted him to make. But the attention of this excellent man seems to have been almost absorbed by the physical sufferings which it was his lot to witness. The very magnitude and intensity of those sufferings seem to have prevented him from looking beyond them to a consideration of the moral evils of imprisonment, which are even still more deplorable than the prisoner's privations and discomfort, and without a proper remedy for which, even an improvement of his physical condition is but too often a greater incentive to his further advancement in crime and vice. The impulse, however, was thus given to the desire and demand for prison improvement; it was prompt and decisive, and to Howard the praise is most justly due."

After his death, a statue, by Bacon, was erected to his memory in St. Paul's,* from funds collected to do him honour whilst living, against his most earnest remonstrances. It was the first monument placed

* It is one of the four uniform statues of illustrious Englishmen occupying the angles of the aisles and transepts.

in that cathedral. On its pedestal is inscribed as follows :—

This extraordinary Man had the Fortune to be honoured whilst living
In the manner which his Virtues deserved;
He received the Thanks
Of both Houses of the British and Irish Parliaments,
For his eminent Services rendered to his Country and to Mankind.
Our national Prisons and Hospitals,
Improved upon the Suggestions of his Wisdom,
Bear Testimony to the Solidity of his Judgment,
And to the Estimation in which he was held.
In every Part of the Civilized World,
Which he traversed to reduce the Sum of Human Misery;
From the Throne to the Dungeon his Name was mentioned
With Respect, Gratitude, and Admiration.
His Modesty alone
Defeated various efforts that were made during his Life
To erect this Statue,
Which the Publick has now consecrated to his Memory.
He was born at *Hackney*, in the County of *Middlesex*,
Sept. II^d. MDCCXXVI.
The early Part of his Life he spent in Retirement,
Residing principally upon his paternal Estate,
At Cardington, in Bedfordshire;
For which County he served the office of Sheriff in the Year MDCCLXXIII.
He expired at *Cherson* in *Russian Tartary*, on the XX^th of Jan. MDCCXC,
A Victim to the perilous and benevolent Attempt
To ascertain the Cause of, and find an efficacious Remedy
For, the Plague.
He trod an open but unfrequented Path to Immortality
In the ardent and unintermitted Exercise of Christian Charity:
May this Tribute to his Fame
Excite an Emulation of his truly glorious Achievements.

This inscription was indited probably by Dr. Aiken, his Socinian biographer. Who would think from it,

that Howard's greatness and success were the fruits of a self-denying imitation of Christ, and of humble, believing prayer? That they really were so, will appear from his diary, and the characteristic epitaph which he left inscribed for himself: jealous of the honour of his Saviour, and apprehending, as the result proved there was just ground for fearing, that a far different one would be written by his friends and admirers.

"*Turin*, 1769, *Nov.* 30.—My return without seeing the southern part of Italy was on much deliberation. I feared a misimprovement of a talent spent for mere curiosity at the loss of many Sabbaths, and as many donations must be expended for my pleasure, which would have been, as I hope, contrary to the general conduct of my life, and which, on a retrospective view on a deathbed, would cause pain as unbecoming a disciple of Christ, whose mind should be formed in my soul. These thoughts, with distance from my dear boy, determine me to check my curiosity, and be on the return. Oh, why should vanity and folly, pictures and baubles, or even the stupendous mountains, beautiful hills, or rich valleys, which ere long will all be consumed, engross the thoughts of a candidate for an eternal, everlasting kingdom; a worm ever to crawl on earth, whom God has raised to the hope of glory, which ere long will be revealed to them who are washed and sanctified by faith in the blood of the Divine Redeemer? Look forward, oh, my soul! how low, how mean,

how little is everything but what has a view to that glorious world of light, life, and love—the preparation of the heart is of God. Prepare the heart, oh, God! of thy unworthy creature, and unto thee be all the glory, through the boundless ages of eternity.

(Signed) "J. H."

"This night my trembling soul almost longs to take its flight to see and know the wonders of redeeming love—join the triumphant choir—sin and sorrow fled away—God my Redeemer all in all. Oh, happy spirits, that are safe in those mansions!"

The following is from his memorandum-book:—

"'Do thou, O Lord! visit the prisoners and captives: manifest thy strength in my weakness; help, Almighty God! for in thee I put my trust, for thou art my rock.' 'I would rejoice in a sense of thy favour.' 'And may not even I hope that God, who 'spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, but that he shall not with him freely give us all things,' even me life everlasting.'

On the same page with these devout meditations may be also transcribed, the following sentiments (many like which pervade his private papers), as illustrative of his views of the inefficacy of good works, as a primary, or even a secondary, cause of salvation. 'The doctrine of merit is diametrically opposed to the genius of the Gospel;' 'By grace we are saved;' 'not of ourselves, it is the gift of God.' In other parts are various detached excla-

mations and remarks, abundantly illustrative of the evangelical character of his belief, and of his possessing that meekness and humility which are the peculiar virtues of the Christian, in connexion with every other grace that is the offspring and evidence of faith. Such are the following: 'I am ashamed, and blush to lift up my face to thee, my God.' 'Oh, God! soften my heart; it is thy work, to thee be all the praise, faith is thy gift.' 'All that I have and am flows from his benignity and indulgence; I am in the hand and at the disposal of One who is good, and to whom I am indebted for the blessings by grace.' 'Behold, I am vile: what shall I answer thee, oh, my God! I have no claim on thy bounty but what springs from the benignity of thy nature. God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of Jesus Christ.' 'Oh, what goodness have I sinned against, how have I abused this astonishing love, and grieved the Spirit of God!' 'Lord God, for Christ's sake, succeed my combat, and make me conquer.' 'Awake thou that sleepest! thou that raised so many, do thou, O God, compassionate me.' 'I venerate that man who is possessed of riches, yet fears God. It is less wonderful how a poor man gets to heaven, than a prosperous or rich man. The necessaries of life come within a very narrow compass indeed.' 'A few of God's people that met in an upper room, appear, in my eye, greater than all the Roman empire. God kept them.' 'Turn me from all sin, that my soul may not be gathered unto sinners.' 'A poor feeble worm surely stands

in need of the protection of Providence. Deliver me from the evil in my heart, the evil in the world.' 'Faith is the gift of God; Lord, give me saving faith in his sacrifice and his righteousness.' 'Oh, that I might know that Christ is mine!' 'Oh, you who pride yourselves on your wisdom, your knowledge, your goodness, but I hope I am among the mourners for sin.' 'I will cheerfully employ all my faculties for God's glory.' 'Oh, how amiable must be the society of saints in heaven!' 'Examples of tremendous wrath will be held up, and what if I should be among those examples?' 'We are high-minded: oh, incline my heart to walk in the way to heaven!' 'Do I renounce all sense of merit before God, and receive a free and full salvation through Jesus Christ?' 'Let *me* walk not as fools, but as wise.' 'How may I adorn the doctrine of Christ in all things?'"

Howard's appreciation of the value of Christian instruction for prisoners, and of the sort of persons in whose hands such a work should be intrusted, appears from his own work, entitled "The State of the Prisons in England and Wales," in which,—

"He urges upon magistrates the great importance of selecting for the office of chaplain to their gaols (and both chapel and chaplain he would have in every place of confinement) a person 'who is in principle a *Christian*, who will not content himself with officiating in public, but will converse with the prisoners, admonish the profligate, exhort the thoughtless, comfort the sick, and make known to the condemned that mercy which is revealed in the Gospel.' Such a man would not think the

duty hard which he required him to perform, a sermon and prayers once, at least, on every Lord's Day, and prayers on two other fixed days in the week. 'And if,' he adds, 'a chapter of the New Testament were read daily in order by one of the prisoners to the rest, or by the gaoler, before the distribution of prison allowance, the time would not be mis-spent. The reader, if a prisoner, might be allowed a small weekly pension.'"

The will of this eminently good and holy man closes with this characteristic sentence:—

"My immortal spirit I cast on the sovereign mercy of God, through Jesus Christ, who is the Lord, my strength and my song, and, I trust, is become my salvation; and I desire that a plain slab of marble may be placed under that of my late wife, containing an inscription as follows:—

"John Howard.
Died ——
Aged —
My hope is in Christ."

This memorial of the philanthropist, so suitable for one to whom Christ was "all and in all," stands in the village church of Cardington.

Never, perhaps, was there a man who might with greater truth have said, "When the ear heard me, then it blessed me; and when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me: because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me: and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy." But he had learned to say with the holy Apostle of the Gentiles, "Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but

according to His mercy He saved us." And as in another place: "I count all things but loss, that I may win Christ, and be found in Him, not having mine own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith." (Phil. iii. 9.)

To the honour of the Nonconformist body, Howard was a Dissenter, but of the large-hearted school, embracing as brethren all who "loved the Lord Jesus in sincerity."

Reader, when you think of his character and labours, remember his motto:

SPES MEA IN CHRISTUM.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON CAPITAL PUNISHMENTS FOR MURDER.

"The land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it."—NUMBERS xxxv. 33.

THE right of the State to inflict capital punishment has been of late much questioned. One may be surprised that persons accepting the Scriptures as of Divine authority should entertain doubts on this subject. It has been said that the noted verse, "He that sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," is a prophecy, not a command. But if it be a prophecy, it has failed in countless instances. It is obviously a command, but a general one, which leaves room for the consideration of circumstances. It authorizes the penalty in cases of unjustifiable homicide. This command respected the whole family of man. The civil law given to the Israelites enacted, likewise, that death should be inflicted for various crimes, but afforded a mode of escape in the case of involuntary homicide. But if capital punishments were *wrong in principle*, how can we account for their forming part of the code of laws given by God himself to his chosen people? In the

New Testament, the power of the civil magistrate to inflict capital punishment is referred to as conferred by Providence for a wise end: "He beareth not the sword in vain, for he is the minister of God, an avenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil."

The same principle is allowed by St. Paul in his own case, when he said before his judges: "If I have been an offender, or have committed anything *worthy of death, I refuse not to die.*" But it may be considered that Christianity does not impose any law of general obligation in this respect. The religion of Christ enjoins justice, charity, and fidelity in our social duties, and leaves us, for the most part, to determine what is just and right, in particular cases, by the reasonable application to them of general principles.

There is no question, that a State may enact laws to prevent crimes which would cause the dissolution of society if widely perpetrated. This is the same right of self-defence which justifies an individual in using arms in defence of his life, and in slaying one who attacks him with murderous intent. The intervention of the law would be too late in such a case; and, therefore, a power of self-defence in extreme cases, even though it issue in homicide, is tolerated.

A nation has a similar right to punish capitally such offences against social order as cannot be restrained efficiently by lighter penalties. In fact, if a State has not such a right, neither has it the right of taking away the life of an enemy in war. A murderer or a traitor is punished capitally, just as an

enemy may be shot while endeavouring to land on our shores, and lay all waste with fire and sword.

The only ground on which the question can be debated appears to be that of expediency. Is it necessary for the good of the community that capital punishments be inflicted for certain crimes? Human justice is supposed to inflict punishment—not by way of revenge, or returning evil for evil—but to prevent crime by the influence of fear. It is quite a mistake, in my humble apprehension, to suppose that the *primary* object of legal punishment is to reform the criminal. Some have thought it a great objection to capital punishment, that such an end cannot be answered in the criminal subjected to it. But the main design of human punishments is to secure society by checking offences against life, property, and social order. And if the defences of these be not strong and well guarded, the wealth and happiness of the nation, and its population, too, will infallibly be diminished. If the State does not secure wealth, it will be carried to other lands. And if life be not sufficiently guarded by the State, mutual revenge, and feuds, and homicide, will ensue, as in all ill-regulated communities. If the State is remiss in executing justice, the people will learn the dangerous habit of becoming themselves the judges and executioners of the law. Capital punishments are necessary, as the *greatest* terror which can be presented to the imagination of criminals, or those who contemplate crime; and, in fact, the *only* terror which can be exhibited to some.

There are many degrees of felony. Will penal servitude, transportation, or an imprisonment, which differs only in duration, correspond to all those degrees, from petty robbery to arson, attempted assassination, and murder? Murder itself has its degrees. There is a murder in revenge for real wrong, and murder for the purpose of robbery—murder with circumstances of cruelty; and suppose the guilt of the parricide,—are all these to be alike deterred from by the threat of some secondary punishment? Can the idea be entertained, that solitary confinement for life will be an adequate punishment? "*Vincula vero, et ea sempiterna certe ad singularem pœnam nefarii sceleris?*" (Cic.) Solitary imprisonment for life of desperate criminals, convicted of crimes of the deepest dye, is, however, the best alternative. Is it practicable? I think not. To most criminals of that class, the sentence would, if fully carried out, prove equivalent to the deprivation of reason, or of life by suicide, or pining disease. It would, therefore, be relaxed, and the person stained with such enormous guilt placed in association with criminals or free persons. If such a prisoner commit another murder in prison, how is this to be punished? And how will it be possible to secure the lives of the officers of such prisons, if the worst criminals —whom they are obliged frequently to report to the authorities—know they can commit murder without additional suffering? In fact, remove the terror of death from the minds of those who contemplate

great crimes, and, when the chances of escape are weighed, no consideration remains sufficient to check the perpetration of them. My own decided impression is, that if capital punishment be wholly abolished, murder—for the purpose of concealment or escape—will become as common a sequence to midnight robberies as it is at present, happily, a rare one. As to the vile perpetrators of systematic robbery having no dread of death—by the executioner's hands—it is altogether contrary to my observation of their real character. The worse the villain, the greater the coward.

But it is said that public executions actually encourage the commission of deeds of blood. This is contrary to common sense, and equally to experience. It is well known that the timely severity of justice, in certain parts of Ireland, has suppressed—though certainly but for a time—the constant occurrence of assassination.

It has often happened, too, that gangs of murderous robbers have been totally broken up by the execution of some of the leaders. And when juries do their duty, such crimes cannot be long perpetrated with impunity; and the evil trade will not be soon taken up by others.

But if public executions, of the kind which take place in England, shock the innocent, and tend to demoralise the masses of the people, then let them be conducted in a less public, although still in a formal manner—say in the gaol-yard, admission being given to the representatives of the people,

jurymen, the press, and a limited portion of the population, *excluding females*—and all the ends of public justice will be equally satisfied.

This seems to be due to the growing humanity of the age. The objections made, then, to the right or expediency of inflicting capital punishment according to the laws of the State are altogether futile, and rest upon a most dangerous principle. This principle would strip the peaceable, the loyal, and the virtuous, of all security against the most fearful injuries, and place them in a state of terror; and, if carried to its legitimate consequences, it would strip the whole nation of its defences against foreign aggression, *and actually invite murder and rapine.*

Let me not be misunderstood. I think there is great matter for congratulation in the improved spirit of the country, shown in the amelioration of its penal code with respect to offences against mere property; although I cannot delude myself into the pleasing persuasion, that the relaxation of the law has not had the tendency to increase, in some measure, the crimes from which the terrible penalty of death has been removed. We must be content to pay for our humanity. But when the question is, whether the guilty murderer shall be put to death, or the life of the innocent and good member of society be constantly imperilled, neither reason nor Christianity warrants the sacrifice; and this is the opinion of almost every one who has to do with criminals.

"The valuable distinction made by the law be-

tween 'robberies with violence,' and 'larceny from the person, unattended with personal injury' (observes my friend, the Chaplain of Durham Gaol, in his valuable report for 1853), 'appears to check the perpetration of the graver crimes; and the character of habitual burglars and highwaymen plainly indicates that they are restrained from committing acts of brutish violence by the fear of the severer punishments. For this same reason it cannot be considered (whatever be the opposite conclusion of many worthy people), that it is desirable to effect the entire abolition of the punishment of death. The terror of that punishment deters many wicked, and very many semi-insane people, from the commission of violence and of murder, with a view to conceal their other offences; and 'there is no reason,' as the Ordinary of Newgate has expressed it, 'why the same feelings of mercy should not be extended to persons about to be murdered, as to persons about to be executed.'"

"Respecting the expediency of abolishing capital punishments (reports Lord Brougham, in 1847), the Committee found scarcely any difference of opinion. Almost all witnesses and all authorities agree in opinion that, for offences of the gravest kind, the punishment of death ought to be retained."

It is generally taken for granted that Howard was an advocate for the total abolition of capital punishment; it may be well, therefore, to set the reader right on this matter, and at the same time supply some information on the subject of this article. In "Foreign Prisons," page 63, he thus writes:—

"From a book containing the names and crimes of all who have been executed at Amsterdam, from January, 1693, to the end of 1766, the number amounts to 336: but only 25 were executed in the last 20 years of that term.

"Of late, in all the seven provinces, seldom more executions in a year than from four to six. One reason of this, I believe, is the awful solemnity of executions, which are performed in the presence of the magistrates, with great order and seriousness, and great effect on the spectators."

In his work, "State of Prisons," page 11, he writes:—

"From my own observations, I was fully convinced that many more were destroyed by the gaol-fever than were put to death by all the public executions in the kingdom. I have a Table printed from a large copper-plate, in 1772, by Sir Stephen Theodore Janssen, showing the number of malefactors executed in London for the twenty-three preceding years, and the crimes for which they suffered. In it will be seen that the total number of executions in London, for those twenty-three years, was 678: the annual average is between 29 and 30. *I leave to others the discussion of the questions, whether those executions were too numerous—whether all the crimes for which they were inflicted were deserving of death.*"

	Sentenced to Death.	Pardoned, Transported, or Died in Gaol.	Executed.
Shoplifting, Riot, and twelve other crimes	240	131	109
Defrauding Creditors	3	—	3
Returning from Transportation .	31	9	22
Coining	11	1	10
Forgery	95	24	71
Horse-stealing	90	68	22
Highway Robbery	362	111	251
Housebreaking	208	90	118
Murder	81	9	72
Total	1121	443	678

"Happily," writes Field (the last and best biographer of the philanthropist, page 170), "the Christian principle which induced Howard to protest against sanguinary laws, has impelled others to labour with success for their repeal. The exertions of Wilberforce, Buxton, and others, have not been vain; and the number of crimes declared capital is now, perhaps, reduced to its proper limit. Life is forfeited upon the conviction of a few heinous offences; but the penalty of death is seldom inflicted, except for murder. God forbid that our laws, in this respect, should ever cease to accord with his decrees; and that anything short of the death of the murderer should be regarded as the condign punish-

ment for such guilt. In expressing these sentiments, it is satisfactory to observe, that they accord with the wisdom and humanity which prompted the following expressions of the subject of our biography :—

"'*I would wish that no persons might suffer capitally, but for murder; for setting houses on fire; for house-breaking, attended with cruelty.* The highwayman, the footpad, the habitual thief, and people of this clan, should end their days in a penitentiary house, rather than on a gallows.'"

There are not a few persons, in the present day, who do not scruple to apply the epithets of barbarism and cruelty to the sentiments advanced in this paper.

Those who do maintain these principles, however, may be well content to bear the obloquy, attached to them, in common with *Howard*, the friend of mankind, but the assertor of the claims of justice.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PREVENTION OF CRIME.

"Principiis obsta, serò medicina paratur,
Cum morbi longâ convaluere morâ."

The prevention of crime in one's country is an object worthy of deepest thought to the moralist, the legislator, and the Christian. Questions of prison discipline derive from this their chief importance. If these are radically vicious, they foster and multiply crime. If indifferent, they discharge only part of their functions—they merely punish. If wise and good, they repress crime, and lessen the expenditure of the State. Prevention of crime may be viewed either in reference to the lapsed members of society,—the classes most in danger of falling into crime,—or to the community at large.

To begin with the lapsed :—

About 30,000 individuals, that is, one-fourth of the whole annual prison population of this country, return to prison again. The aggregate of these numbers is fearful, and shows the importance of the subject. But the proportion is encouraging, and demonstrates a fact, too little credited, the willing-

ness of the great majority of criminals to turn from their evil course.

Ninety thousand criminals in a year, whether deterred by punishment, and sheer dread of the law, or reformed in character, or influenced by mixed motives, do actually, by their own efforts, against extraordinarily great disadvantages, return to a better course of life after legal punishment.

Paley states it to be the principal difficulty in the treatment of prisoners, "how to dispose of them after their enlargement," and remarks: "By a rule of life, which is, perhaps, too invariably and indiscriminately adhered to, no one will receive a man or woman out of a gaol into any service or employment whatever. This is the common misfortune of public punishments, that they preclude the offender from all honest means of future support." He suggests that "until this inconvenience be remedied, small offences had better, perhaps, go unpunished. I do not mean," he says, "that the law should exempt them from punishment, but that private persons should be tender in prosecuting them."

Facts, after all, show that the State has only to consider how to prevent relapse into crime in 25 per cent. of the discharged. How far present improvements in our penal regulations may effect a further diminution remains to be proved. Should they reduce it only by one-third, *i. e.* 10,000 individuals, it will yet be a glorious result, and worth more than all the trouble and expense lavished, as some would say, with this object. Should no such result be

manifest, it must not be too hastily concluded that those improvements have failed in their grand purpose; for the fact is, that by those means, as well as by the general efforts of benevolence and Christianity, we are, in the present day, not only meeting old difficulties, but a host of new ones continually, from increase of population, and other causes, springing into existence.

Is it Christian—is it politic not to lend a helping hand, in some way, to those who are willing to be reformed? What, if some have been rescued from crime, in the very act, by the voice of sympathy and Christian feeling!

On one occasion, the late Rowland Hill preached a funeral sermon on the death of his servant man. In the course of that sermon he said:—"Many persons present were acquainted with the deceased, and have had it in their power to observe his character and conduct. They can bear witness, that for a considerable number of years he proved himself a perfectly honest, sober, industrious, and religious man; faithfully performing, as far as lay in his power, the duties of his station in life, and serving God with constancy and zeal. Yet *this very man was once a robber on the highway.* More than thirty years ago, he stopped me on the public road, and demanded my money. Not at all intimidated, I argued with him; I asked him what could induce him to pursue so iniquitous and dangerous a course of life? 'I have been a coachman,' said he; 'I am out of place, and I cannot get a character; I am

unable to get any employment.' I desired him to call on me. He promised he would, and he kept his word. I talked further with him, and offered to take him into my own service. He consented; and ever since that period has served me faithfully, and not me only, but has faithfully served his God. Instead of finishing his life in a public and ignominious manner, with a depraved and hardened heart, as he probably would have done, he died in peace, and, we trust, prepared for the society of 'just men made perfect.' Till this day the extraordinary circumstance I have related has been confined to his breast and mine. I have never mentioned it to my dearest friend."

"Respecting the reception of the liberated prisoner again into society," writes the King of Sweden, "a feeling of morality, degenerated to implacability, ought not to repulse his contrition, or suppress his good intentions; but his return to evil must be prevented by his being enabled to obtain honest employment. There is an extensive field for communal and private exertion. After the law has executed the punishment, and the State has taken care of the inward improvement, it is the business of the citizen to offer a helping hand to the individual restored to freedom. Both charity and prudence urge this; for it is the noblest and safest means of preventing new crimes."

Now, it is no longer a question that society can really do a great deal in preventing relapse into crime, and that it is plainly the interest, and the

duty, of the State to assist their efforts, but a matter of actual observation, wherever the experiment has been tried, either abroad or at home.

Reformatory agricultural schools, for juvenile offenders, have now for years been tried in France with great success; and it is delightful to observe, how much Christianity, in its general characteristics of morality and benevolence, in the hands of earnest, large-minded, and good men, has accomplished in that country, for the amelioration and improvement of that class, particularly at Mettray.

The directors of this famous establishment were formerly two—Monsieur Demetz, and the Vicomte de Bretignères; to these gentlemen, a third, the Vicomte de Villiers, nephew of Monsieur de Bretignères, has been lately added. The first of those gentlemen must be regarded as the founder. M. Demetz began his good work by the formation of the *Société Paternelle*, under the presidency of M. le Comte de Gasparin, Peer of France.

The first Article of the Constitution of this Society, thus denotes its objects:—

1. To exercise a benevolent guardianship over children, acquitted on the ground that they had acted *without discernment*, who may be confided to its care by the magistrate, in administering the judicial instruction, dated 3rd Dec. 1832; to procure for such children (being in a state of conditional liberty, and sent to an Agricultural Colony,) a moral and religious education, as well as elementary instruction; to have them taught a trade, to accus-

tom them to agricultural labour, and place them out afterwards in country situations with artificers and agriculturists.

2. To watch over the conduct of these children, and assist them by the guardianship of the Society so long as they may require it.

Of this institution, the Rev. Mr. Turner of the Philanthropic gave an interesting account a few years back, and a most favourable report to the British public.

"At present," he says, "nothing is merely routine, merely mechanism; all is pervaded and animated with the earnest, real character of the resident director. The question naturally and continually suggests itself, How will this go on? how can the work be made to prosper when he is removed from it?

"To this question Monsieur Demetz would answer, that all would depend upon the work being taken up on the *same principle*, and carried on by the *same means* that he has triumphed by—the *principle*, namely, of *religious charity*, and the *means of specially prepared and educated agents*. Engaged in as a work of religion, to be mainly promoted and sustained by voluntary zeal, and to be wrought out by young and earnest men, devoted and prepared to enter on it as a mission which they have to live for, it will succeed. Taken up as a piece of government or corporate machinery, to be carried on by a mere code of discipline, and by hired servants, who enter it solely as a calling they may live by, it will, pro-

bably—and, perhaps, justly—fail. Let us address ourselves to it '*with the Gospel in our hand*,' (to use Monsieur Demetz's words,) and we shall be sure of the Divine blessing on our efforts."

The particulars of this interesting establishment will be found in a pamphlet, by M. A. Cochin, translated by my friend Mr. Hamilton, the chaplain of Durham Gaol (Whittaker, London). From that document it appears that:—

"856 children have left Mettray, of whom upwards of 633 have been placed in situations, or been restored to their families.

"223 are in military service; 185 in the army and 58 in the navy.

"Of those who have left the Institution, 708 are irreproachable.

"47 conduct themselves tolerably well.

"16 have been lost sight of.

"85 have relapsed."

M. Cochin also acquaints us that:—

"One portion of these admirable results is attributable to the watchful solicitude with which the directors and the *Société Paternelle* continue to patronize the former inmates; every effort is made to place them with respectable persons,—and this is not difficult on account of the numerous applications made to the directors, which gives them a considerable choice of situations; the example of Mettray has been followed by the establishment in France alone of thirty-two similar institutions; and on a recent occasion, July, 1852, the Governmental In-

spector-General of these agricultural colonies reported most favourably of the Institution."

M. de Metz borrowed his ideas of the institution at Mettray from the *Rauhen Haus* in Hamburgh, a reformatory home for criminal boys, under the presidency of Dr. Wichern.

The success of this institution in its infant state may be illustrated by the following anecdote:—

During the last calamitous fire in Hamburgh those once criminal boys having offered to their excellent president their assistance towards rescuing property, it was accepted, and so well did they discharge their duty that they received the public thanks of the city subsequently, for their meritorious and valuable services. Nor was this all; for they next requested permission to give up their beds and bedding to as many houseless persons as could thereby be accommodated, which was, also, wisely and humanely granted. The self-denying and honoured person who contrived that most benevolent scheme, devoting both time and property to the work, that he might become a father to the fatherless, and provide a home for the outcast, ascribes all his success to the blessing of God, in answer to believing prayer.

Those who desire further information respecting the *Rauhen Haus* and its results must consult the evidence of George Bunsen, Esq., before the Committee of the Commons on Juvenile Criminals in the session of 1853.

Since giving that evidence Mr. Bunsen has

obligingly communicated with me on the subject, and confirms his previous statement from renewed opportunities of observation. The number of reformatories, he informs me, is increasing, and is now probably not far from 72 in Protestant Germany. They are all independent of the Government, although "some may receive *assistance* from the State."

Let us now glance at some institutions, with a like object, at home.

In 1849 His Royal Highness Prince Albert laid the first stone of the farm-school for criminal and vagrant boys at Red-hill, Reigate, Surrey, under the Philanthropic Society. The new institution consists of eight houses, each calculated to accommodate about sixty boys, arranged on either side of a commodious and handsome chapel; thus carrying out the system of domestic management and association, which has been adopted with such success at Mettray, as well as at Hamburgh. Each house is so fitted and arranged as to allow of the "family" of boys contained in it being instructed in cooking and all common domestic occupations, as well as in husbandry and gardening, and such mechanical arts as are connected with farm-labour. The houses, and everything relating to the accommodation and treatment of the boys, are arranged on a studiously economical and simple principle.

A very complete account of this Reformatory farm-school will be found in the *Minutes of Council on Education*, 1852-1853, in an elaborate report by

Mr. E. Carleton Tuffnell, one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools :—

"The boys who compose the school, 178 in number at the date of my visit, may be divided into three classes. First, there is the voluntary class, who come entirely of their own free will, consisting of youths tired of a life of vice and crime, and wishing to reform. Secondly, there is the compulsory class, being boys who have been sentenced to transportation, and have received a pardon conditional on their submitting to the regulations of this establishment. Thirdly, there is a class sent by their parents or immediate relatives for reformation, and who may be said to be compulsorily detained, so far as the parental control may be considered compulsory. For this latter class a payment, usually 5*s*. per week, is asked; but in the case of poor parents much less is taken.

"The inmates are divided into four separate households, which are in a great measure kept distinct, each under a superintendent, responsible only to the resident chaplain, who is supreme director of the institution, subject of course to the Committee, who meet every fortnight. Two of these households consist of 50 each; one embraces 60 of the older lads, and the fourth contains 20 lads employed in the stable, cow-house, and farm-yard, who are changed for others at the beginning of each month. The class of 60 is considered too large, and it is intended to diminish it and to add to the farmyard class of 20.

"The number of youths that have been received at Redhill since the school was opened in 1849, is 461, up to 1st June, 1853. Of these 289 have been discharged in the following ways:—157 have emigrated either to Australia or America; 1 has been sent to sea; 70 have been apprenticed or assisted to employment in England; and 60 have been discharged at their own request, or as unimprovable, or have deserted. Of this latter class, however, several have been ascertained to have subsequently reformed, the good seed sown in them while within the walls of this institution having at a later period produced its fruits. The success that attends the operations of this society may be epitomized as follows:—Of the whole number of criminal boys received, 75 per cent. are reformed, and become honest and industrious members of the community; 25 per cent. relapse into their former courses, at least for a time, though several of these eventually shake off their evil habits, and turn to the paths of honesty and respectability.

"If I might be allowed to criticise the arrangements of this establishment I should say that the household plan was not sufficiently carried out, and that 40 or 50 are too many to place under one teacher. The two most noted institutions in Europe for the reclamation of juvenile offenders are the school at Mettray in France, and the *Rauhen Haus* at Hamburgh. In the former one a teacher is allowed to every 20 boys, and in the *Rauhen Haus* one to every 12. I have inspected the Hamburgh school,

which has been very successful, not only in reforming those sent to it but in training teachers for the business, who are in great request for similar establishments in other parts of the continent. The Mettray reformatory school is of world-wide celebrity; and in both the principles that ought to govern such institutions have been so long studied and practised that I should hesitate to doubt the correctness of the conclusions to which they have arrived. Perhaps it is owing to this variation of management that the number of those who relapse into crime is two or three times less at Mettray and Hamburgh than at Redhill."

This account by Mr. Tuffnell, and especially the comparison which he institutes, calls for one or two remarks.

It might appear to some, comparing the general results of imprisonment in England, and the results of the Reigate farm-school, that this institution is in reality accomplishing nothing; for the proportion of relapses in both is the same. But the fact is, that of this particular class in the general prison population the proportion of relapses is probably full forty per cent., if not even more.

Then, Mr. Tuffnell does great injustice, (most undesignedly, doubtless,) to the Philanthropic school, in the comparison which he draws between that establishment, and those on the continent;—and his representations might leave, if unexplained, an injurious impression on the public mind as to the utility of the institution. There is unquestionably

much in what he says with respect to the management. The fewer in the family, the better, for good moral supervision. But he has not observed two points of difference between the English and French reformatories, which are really so essential as to destroy all analogy in the cases.

1. The juvenile offender in France has not the stigma of crime upon him, and consequently feels differently from the individual of that class in England.* And,

2. Society there, freely receives him, upon liberation, as really not degraded by his detention. The honourable services of the army and navy, as we see in the return, are open to him, and on account of his superior education, at Mettray, he has even "a choice of situations." How different it is with us, I need not point out.

A small but most useful institution, which will bear comparison with any in its results, was formed in connexion with the gaol of Durham, in 1848, by the excellent Governor and Chaplain, assisted by friends and magistrates in their private capacity, which may serve to show the exceeding great value, economically and morally, of efforts in behalf of released prisoners. The total expenditure for 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851 and 1852, was under £300. The

* If I had been able to attend the late Conference at Birmingham—to which I was honoured with an invitation, I would have pressed upon that distinguished assembly the importance of having our law in this respect assimilated to the penal code of France, at least up to the age of 14.

number of discharged prisoners restored to their relatives, or placed in situations where they could earn an honest livelihood, was 804. Of these only 26 were re-committed to prison, and 31 were considered failures, but not re-committed.

The cost here is so trifling, when compared with the results, that one naturally inquires by what machinery the work is accomplished. Nothing is more simple. The refuge for young women is a room in the house of a married schoolmaster. The domestic discipline of the family, and the instruction and advice of the Christian ladies who visit the prison, are the chief influences. Friends are communicated with, employers are obtained, by means of those zealous and benevolent persons, &c. Somewhat similar arrangements are made for male prisoners. The co-operation of the magistrates, chiefly in carrying out a suggestion of the chaplain, "to sentence each member of a gang to a different term of sentence," is stated greatly to have contributed to the success. It is to be hoped that this admirable institution will be imitated in every county in England.

In Great Smith-street, Westminster, may be seen an institution, of a most interesting character, having the same object, under the able management of Mr. Nash, formerly of the City Mission, who has given himself for years to the work of reclaiming criminals. To show how such a refuge is needed and appreciated, it is enough to state that during a single year there have been upwards of 1500 volun-

tary applications, by perhaps the most accomplished thieves and vagrants in the metropolis,—all earnestly soliciting, some even with tears, a share of that bounty so providentially afforded to others. Sometimes they seem nearly broken down with grief when they find they cannot be admitted. This is the case with many who, by cleverness in their degrading profession, could rob from the public enough to supply all their wants, and to enable them to indulge in their propensities of riot and excess.

The probation before admission to the benefits of the institution is a fortnight's voluntary imprisonment on bread and water, in a comfortless room!

I rarely ever witnessed a more affecting scene than upon a visit to this establishment; when, having expressed a wish to address and pray with the inmates, they were called together for the purpose, and stood around me, first singing the appropriate anthem, "I will arise and go to my Father;" then listening to my exhortation; and joining heartily in responses to the prayer. The thought of what they had been, and what inevitably they must have come to, only for this timely Christian help, came very forcibly to my mind.

During the absence of the Governor for a few weeks, a few summers back—rendered necessary for his health—these thieves were left wholly to themselves, one of their own number acting as temporary superintendent. They did not disappoint the expectations entertained. They wrought most diligently at their trades, of printing, carpentry, shoe-

making, and tailoring, and conducted themselves in every respect in the most proper and orderly manner. 100 young men now are sheltered in this refuge, trained for useful life, and sent out annually to benefit, instead of injuring, society.

Such houses of recovery, then, are facts, not experiments; and show to demonstration how much may be done, at very little cost, for prevention of crime in the lapsed, under wise and Christian influence. It is to be hoped that they will be multiplied, rather than a few excessively enlarged, beyond the personal control of one energetic Christian mind. Ten men like the superintendent of this establishment, with a family each of some seventy or eighty criminal youths, in Lambeth, Whitechapel, Clerkenwell, and such localities, would sensibly tell upon this dangerous class in the metropolis.

I rejoice to know that such are now springing up in various parts of this great city. Sectarian theology, that fruitful source of discord, has not, as yet, marred these philanthropic enterprises. Nevertheless there is too much division, on other matters, amongst as ardent persons engaged in carrying out experimental institutions, which might be avoided by a little mutual concession.

One institution, a home for forty or fifty of the most wretched, criminal, juvenile outcasts of London, deserves here especial notice. A noble-minded woman, of private rank, is the sole supporter of this home, for houseless little wanderers, at the cost of about £800 per annum.

To remember what these poor children were a few months back, and now to see them so happy, orderly, and industrious, must be, to the benevolent heart of their patroness, a continual banquet. Miss Portall, however, aspires to more—their spiritual regeneration and salvation. May her best desires be accomplished, and may not a few of these children, in the great day, rise up to call her blessed!

With equal success renewed efforts are being made to rescue the fallen and abandoned of the other sex.

In the year 1848 an able article was published in the "Quarterly Review" on the subject of Female Penitentiaries. The writer of that article, amongst other humane suggestions, penned the following sentence:—"It may seem somewhat wild to speak of going out to fetch wanderers home, when so many of those who have already risen up like the prodigal, and are at the very door of the home of penitents, have none to lead them in; but we cannot entirely put out of sight the duty of *searching* for the lost sheep in the wilderness. It is not enough to *wait* for the returning wanderers. There is a sort of missionary machinery required, by which especially the beginners in this vicious life might be pleaded with."

The judicious recommendation thus made has been for some time acted on by Lieutenant Blackmore, R.N., the Superintendent of the London Female Dormitory, (27, Gloucester Place, Camden Town). In company with other Christian friends,

it is his practice, at stated intervals, to traverse by night the streets of this vast metropolis, to distribute tracts to unhappy wanderers from the paths of female virtue, and to plead with them to accept the shelter from a life of infamy which the Institution above named presents to them.

As the result of one evening's mission, about TWENTY unhappy females, desirous of being reformed, called at the Dormitory, and were sheltered in it, or placed in other institutions of a similar kind. This fact will explain more forcibly than any comment the usefulness of such labours, and there needs but a generous co-operation on the part of the public to enable the institution to add largely to the numbers of those sheltered within its walls. Only those who have seen the misery endured by these unhappy objects, and who know their willingness, nay, their eagerness to be rescued, can have any adequate conception of the immense amount of good which an agency of this kind can effect. To restore, as this Institution has been the means of doing, unhappy females to their sorrowing relatives, to procure for others situations in which they can win back lost usefulness and respectability; and, higher still, to bring them in penitence and faith to the feet of the Saviour—this surely is a work in which all should rejoice to join. Let those who, by the grace of God, have been kept in the path of safety, help by their prayers and pecuniary aid to lift up those that are fallen. In conclusion, to quote the words of the same article in the "Quarterly Review,"

"Many who have lived deeply to regret the stains which discoloured their opening years, are now among the best and foremost in all works of good, and are living as altered men with their wives and children happy about them. Not so with those with whom they sinned. Some have perished in their sins; others with broken hearts are forced to continue their pilgrimage of guilt and woe. For these we claim not words alone, nor thoughts, but deeds of pity. Restitution is a part of penitence; it is at least possible to give year by year penitential contributions to those asylums (like the present) devoted to the reformation of fallen women."*

In establishing new institutions of this kind, let not the old be suffered to languish. There are many of the most admirable character in our metropolis, and elsewhere in the country, which only need to be inspected by the benevolent, to engage their best support. One visit less to the Opera in a season, and one visit more to a benevolent institution, with the price of the amusement, as a donation, by a small part of the fashionable world, would place them in a flourishing financial position, and leave a more lasting pleasure, and a more beneficial impression on the heart. One entertainment less in the year in a rich man's house, would enable him to place under Christian influence, tens, or even hundreds of his hapless fellow-creatures,

* The details of that night's missionary tour are given in a paper, entitled *London by Moonlight*. They are exquisitely affecting and instructive.

who, if not taken by the hand at the critical moment of remorse or penitence, must sink irrecoverably into the depths of vice and misery, if not into eternal perdition.

During the forty-six years that the *Refuge for the Destitute*, now at Dalston, has been in operation, about four thousand young women have experienced its advantages.

For about the same period, supported altogether by voluntary help, the *London Female Penitentiary*, Pentonville, has sheltered 3175; nearly 2000 of whom have been placed out to service, reconciled and restored to their friends, or otherwise satisfactorily disposed of. The *London Magdalen*, established in 1758, more than double that number.

Mr. Thomas Wright, of Manchester, has shown, by his own example, how much may be accomplished in preventing relapse into crime by the earnest and benevolent zeal even of *an individual* in humble life.

This gentleman stated before Lord Brougham's Committee, in 1847, that he had been in the habit of visiting Salford Prison every Lord's-day for nine years up to that time, for the purpose of imparting religious instruction, and that he had been instrumental in procuring situations for upwards of 150 prisoners after their discharge—becoming personally responsible in certain cases for their rectitude, by way of surety; *of these* 150 *he had heard of only one solitary case of relapse.*

Whilst, then, no opinion is more convenient for persons who would excuse themselves from co-ope-

rating in works of charity of this description than that, however benevolent these may be, they are altogether hopeless, nothing is more contrary to the fact. *The greater part of the lapsed in every institution of Christian mercy are rescued from vice and criminality, and some are savingly converted to God.*

But, it may be said, this after all is a very partial view of the subject. The great work of the philanthropist is not to recover the fallen and reclaim the vagrant, but if possible to prevent the loss of character and virtue altogether—to check the disease in its rise and premonitory symptoms. Very well. I have nothing to object to this philosophy. Only let those noble-minded persons who have given themselves to the more difficult and more hopeless task be duly honoured, and not reckoned amongst pseudo-philanthropists, or good-natured enthusiasts.

They are surely following their blessed Master, who "went about doing good and healing all manner of sicknesses among the people," just as if this were the end of his mission.

Those deep-thinking people, who would direct you to the better end to begin at, are not usually the persons to set you the example. Indeed, your philosopher rarely condescends to put his shoulder to the wheel. He stands calmly looking on, and when the catastrophe takes place, he pronounces his opinion that it might have been averted by a little forethought.

To come, then, to the second part of our subject. The classes most exposed to the peril of falling into

criminality, are pre-eminently the poor and our working people. Strenuous efforts should be made to remove, or greatly diminish, *the physical evils* which afflict the labouring classes.

If any are yet ignorant as to what those evils are, they cannot do better than take up any of the Reports of the Labourers' Friend Society, the Ragged School Union, or the City Mission. The first-named society supplies most valuable information on the whole subject to those who have it in their power, and feel the wish, to improve the condition of their poorer brethren. In some country parts, the condition of the poor man's habitation is disgraceful; in our large towns, it is horrible beyond description.

The physical condition of the poor cannot be viewed as separated from the moral. The want of a proper dwelling-place for the working-man is one of his greatest trials, and is as injurious to his spiritual as to his bodily health. The crowding together of a whole family in one room weakens domestic virtue, destroys self-respect, modesty, and delicacy of feeling, and utterly removes all opportunities for self-improvement. A home which is miserable from physical causes, is the half-way-house to the gin-palace or beer-shop. The pestiferous, overpowering atmosphere of the dwellings of the poor in London and elsewhere, undoubtedly generates the thirst for intoxicating drink, and thus leads to crime and greater misery. The working classes, when placed in proper lodging-houses, are as remarkable for sober and domestic habits, as the inhabitants of

our courts and alleys are for drunkenness, immorality, and crime. Sanitary reform is moral reform.

Every one can do something in this work, in his parish and neighbourhood, and he is bound to do his very utmost: the health, the lives, of the poor are involved; yea, their morals, and, in no small measure, their eternal interests.

Attention, however, to the improvement of the habitations of the labouring classes is only part of the duty, even as regards their physical condition, which rests upon those whom Providence has placed in better circumstances. There is a growing system of business in England which grinds the face of the poor, and unquestionably demoralises them. The system of doing work by public tender is one of these, and slop-selling is another. The cupidity of companies or individual employers, in the fearful competition of the times, is putting forth, also, constant efforts to deprive the working-man of his birthright in a Christian land, one day's rest from toil in seven; so necessary for the preservation of his health, his home-feelings, and his very apprehension of the existence of a God, who regards the poor and the rich alike. The rest which the owner gives to his hard-worked cattle he refuses to his fellow-man. The brute is his property; the moral debasement of his servant is no money-loss in his account; his sickness and death certainly none, and therefore no concern to his selfish heart; covetousness is cold-hearted and iron-handed. The railway director and proprietor enjoy their day of rest as God ordained it—

one day in seven—and attend the place of worship. To their servants they give a day of rest, one in fourteen, or one in twenty-eight days, or not one at all! On what ground do these parties lay aside the law of God? Of necessity, piety, or mercy? Few put forth so hypocritical a pretence. Their sole object, if they will suffer themselves to look the matter honestly in the face, is to swell their dividends,—to make money! Would they run their Sunday pleasure-trains if they brought in no gain? Let them be consistent, and follow their other money-making trades on the Lord's-day, till the whole working population of their country become enervated, homeless, demoralised, and lose the character of Englishmen and Christians. This is the natural result of such money-making, grasping cupidity, and it is the duty of society to protect the labouring classes from every encroachment, of this kind, on their rights, their liberties, their property; for these are all bound up in Heaven's gift to them—the Sabbath. Christianity is the best protector and friend of the poor.

It is most incumbent upon all who are raised above the condition of actual labour themselves, in every way which Providence enables them to do it, "to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free." In performing this high duty, they will at the same time most surely be helping to lighten the evils of their country by diminishing its crime.

There is one division of this class to which, it

seems to me, of no small importance to have public attention directed.

There are some hundreds of thousands of young men and women employed in the various towns in the kingdom as drapers' and milliners' assistants, &c. These young people are primarily amongst the most respectable, and belong to the most virtuous, walks of life. Yet it is, to my own mind, a matter of certain persuasion, that an undue proportion of their number sink into the lowest depths of crime and infamy. If this be true, there must be a cause; and humanity, and a sense of public interest, should ascertain what that cause is. From conversation with many degraded persons of this class, I am led to consider their moral and religious condition, in general, in the houses of their employers, as most deplorable. They are, in almost all cases, removed from home influences, and placed, at the most critical period of life, in the midst of temptations. The love of money is the reigning principle of their new abode. Everything must be sacrificed to this—truth, integrity, honour, conscience. Here, perhaps, the evil begins; for, conscience being ill at ease, the worship of God, the reading and hearing of his word, are given up; the Lord's-day is devoted to pleasure, and the evenings of the week to dancing-parties, theatres, and the like, when the descent to crime, penury, an early grave, or even worse, becomes frightfully rapid.

A book written by a competent person in this class, corrected by the experience and observation of

others, having for its object the religious improvement of the people employed, and at the same time fully exposing the iniquities of trade, would, under God, be productive of great good. The "early closing" movement only touches one point of their social condition. It is to be hoped, however, that it will prove the precursor of a thorough investigation of their moral and religious state. In some establishments, it is *expected* that the young people will leave after breakfast, on Sunday, and not return till night. Where do they spend the day? In trips on the railway, the river, and in infamous gardens.

They are dismissed at a moment's notice. What becomes of young women or young men who have no money nor friends near, or are ashamed to apply for help in proper quarters? The condition of both sexes at such a crisis is appalling enough. That of young women is, of course, the worst. A home, in Christian hands, in every considerable town, would in itself be a haven of refuge to hundreds of this class in a year, and at the same time furnish opportunities for deliberating upon and carrying out further measures.

"May the Lord prosper you," said a prisoner once to me who had been a shop-walker, with whom I was speaking on the subject, "in your wishes in behalf of these poor young women, I now say, who have been their most terrible enemy, in sending them off about their business at a minute's notice, and abusing them also in a most shameful manner, in my days of darkness."

There are honourable exceptions in the drapery business. I had the exceeding great pleasure not long ago of witnessing in the City a gathering of the young people, in one large concern, around their principal and friends, to tea. The sight was to me most novel, and I hailed with delight the prospect of such meetings being multiplied in the metropolis. From a Report read by one of the young men, I learned that, amongst themselves, during the year, £100 had been collected for Missionary purposes; and from a most feeling and faithful exhortation addressed by the principal of the firm, that thirteen of his household in the same period had been converted truly, as he hoped, to the Lord. In all our great towns there are, happily, heads of houses of business of like character, who do their utmost to preserve a proper feeling of self-respect in this class, and to show how, by commercial integrity and perseverance, to seek ultimate advancement for themselves. Such masters discharge a high duty; and whilst preserving the morals of the young persons committed to their charge, are at the same time advancing their own interest and that of society.

I say *their own interest*, for the success of every establishment depends in great measure upon the characters of the agents employed. Subordinates who have no interest in a concern, but mere subsistence, until they can better themselves, are much more likely to swamp it altogether, than the reverse. Trustworthy agents, treated by their employers

with liberality and kindness, who "do service, not as men-pleasers, but as in the sight of God," bring an amount of zeal, and a power and freshness of mind, to their work, which makes their service of incalculable value.

This has been proved incontestably over and over again, but never more strikingly than lately in the manufactory of "Price's patent Candles," at Belmont, Vauxhall.

The subjects of the experiment in this case were boys. A few of the lads in one department had set about improving themselves in writing, after work. The foreman sympathized in the effort, and encouraged it. More boys joined in. He applied to Mr. Wilson, the managing director, and obtained for them some rough moveable desks, from that gentleman, who now warmly took oversight of the matter, and distributed prizes of books, calculated to assist the boys in their plan of mutual improvement, and keep alive the desire: without any effort or compulsion the school increased. Mr. Wilson did not hesitate to provide a school-building and a teacher, a cricket-ground and other helps, out of his own pocket, until the number of scholars rose to 800, and the annual expense to £130. The expense of the cricket-ground and gardens alone, for three years, amounted to £249, which Mr. Wilson considered was *money well laid out.*

But I must let Mr. Wilson speak for himself, in a report to the proprietor:—

"When you remember that the hour and a-half of schooling was always after a hard day's work, you will not wonder that the boys did not all offer themselves. Compulsion being out of the question, the course we took was to try to join on some harmless pleasure to the school, and also to make a marked distinction between those who did, and those who did not, belong to it, not by putting disgrace upon these last, but by putting honour on the others. With this view we repeatedly, in the spring and summer of 1849, asked all the school to a tea-party in the new room. The first tea was an interesting one. Very many of the boys had not been at anything of the sort before, and many of them had never, perhaps, put themselves into decent clothes at all. Those who came untidily or dirtily dressed to our first tea, feeling themselves out of keeping with the whole thing, tried hard to avoid this at the next party. To several our first tea was the occasion of their taking to neat dressing for life. I will just mention here, that so far as our experience goes, there is not with boys as there is with girls, any danger whatever of leading them to think much of their dress. Almost all our best boys now come to the chapel in plain black, though not a word has ever been said to them about their dress. One evening last summer a friend, who had met a troop of them on the way to one of our cricket-matches, asked me afterwards whether the boys he had met could be our factory boys, as they were, he said, more neatly dressed than his school-fellows used to be. By the help of these tea-parties, we made the boys who did not belong to the school feel awkward and uncomfortable about not doing so, and very many joined,—several, however, stipulating that they were not to be asked to the next tea, lest that should be supposed to be their motive for joining.

"It was on Easter Monday that our first tea-party was held, partly in order to try our powers of attraction against those of Camberwell and Greenwich fairs, both of which are within reach of the factory. *Ours were the stronger, both then and on the Whit Monday following.*

"In following up our plan of combining as much pleasure as possible with the schools, the next step was to teach the boys cricket, yet it was anything but a pleasant occasion which decided the time of beginning this. In the summer of 1849

the cholera came, and it was fearfully severe in Battersea Fields and the lower part of Lambeth, where numbers of our people live. For a time the first thing every morning was to compare notes, as to the relations whom the men and boys had left dead or dying on coming to work, and in the latter part of the time no doctors were to be had, as they were all knocked up. Before it got very bad we got good medical advice, as to whether any precautions against it were possible for our boys, and decided that fresh air and exercise out of the factory were the best preventives. We therefore closed the school entirely, and a gentleman (Mr. Symes) having most kindly let us take possession of a field, which was waiting to be occupied by a builder, we set to work hard at learning cricket after working hours. I say learning, for cricket is not a game of London boys of the class of ours, as was proved, by the fact of hardly any of, even the elder ones, knowing anything at all about it when we began.

"The cholera seems an odd reason for taking to cricket, but I daresay the cricket had a very happy effect on the general health of our boys, and so may have strengthened them against catching it. We lost one (an amiable and well-conducted boy of seventeen), although many of our boys lost relations living in the same houses with them. *Always when the game was finished they collected in a corner of the field, and took off their caps for a very short prayer* for the safety from cholera of themselves and their friends; and the tone in which they said their 'Amen' to this has always made me think, that although the school was nominally given up for the time, they were really getting from their game, so concluded, more moral benefit than any quantity of ordinary schooling could have given them. They also met every morning in the school-room at six o'clock, before beginning work, just for a few minutes, to give thanks for having been safely brought to the beginning of the day, and to pray to be defended in it."

Nothing, surely, can be more cheering to a Christian philanthropist than such scenes as these, where the evils of the accumulation of numbers in factories are not only overcome, but actually made to bring forth good upon a large scale; where a religious spirit is seen pervading the whole mass; no doubt producing individual instances of great utility, and sending out a much more extended influence of moral good.

Mr. Wilson then goes on to describe his summer excursions to the country with the boys, and their exceeding great delight, and the moral benefit.

It is important to have Mr. Wilson's account of the prosperity of the establishment under this system :—

"I was also, if possible, to state the amount of direct pecuniary advantage to the company from all that has been done, and is doing. This I find to be impossible. One can only say generally that the whole spirit of a factory, such as I trust ours is now in prospect of becoming, will be different from that of one in which the giving and taking of wages is the only connexion between the proprietors and their people. One feels intuitively the moment the idea of two such different factories is presented to one's mind, that the difference does, and must necessarily by the very laws of human nature and of religion, ensure to the one much greater prosperity than to the other, although it may be impossible to trace out the details of this, and say, such and such a hundred pounds, spent at such a time on the boys, has brought back two hundred pounds before such a date afterwards. If I were forced to come to some particular, proved instances of benefit to the business, I should take first the one which you witnessed the other night after coming down from the schools into the factory, a number of boys working so steadily and well at what, a few years back, we should not have thought of trusting to any but men, it being work requiring much greater care and attention than can be reckoned upon from ordinary untrained factory boys. Yet even here the exact pecuniary benefit cannot be stated, for the boys whom you saw at work are not substitutes for men, but for machinery. It is the fact of our having at command cheap boy-labour, which we dare trust, that enables us now to make by hand the better sorts of candles, which we used to make, like the other sorts, in the machines, and which, on account of the hardness of the material, when so made were never free from imperfection. The benefit will come to us, not in saving of wages (for had the choice been only between the men's dear labour and the machines, we should have stuck to the machines), but in increased trade through the imperfections of the candles alluded to being removed."

The next thing brought under our notice is the resolution proposed and passed at a full meeting of the proprietors on the

24th March, 1852, for the support of their educational system, not including the expenses of the chapel. Mr. Conybeare moved the following resolution, adding some remarks to the proprietors, from which we make an extract:—

"'That the shareholders, cordially coinciding in the views of the company's duty with regard to education, which are expressed in the report, presented by the educational committee to the directors, authorize the directors to expend a sum not exceeding £900 per annum in maintaining the educational system now in operation in connexion with the company's factories.'

"The sum I have named, though it includes the salary of the chaplain, who is daily employed in teaching in our several schools, and whose various duties you will find enumerated in the second page of our report, does not include the expenses of the chapel. Public worship not being so much a part of the ordinary factory routine as our school training is, it seems better that the directors should not officially move any resolution for providing it, but, however strongly they may feel individually on the subject, should leave it to shareholders to propose whatever may seem to them right. Such proposal may, of course, be made by any shareholder, either by way of amendment on my motion, or as a substantive motion of his own." I cannot avoid here giving some of the philosophic sentiments of this Christian manufacturer. After having given due praise to the manager, Mr. Wilson, for his originating and carrying on the great work at a great expense to himself, he thus speaks:—

"Which of us does not know too well the great evil and intense temptations to which the uncared-for children of our English factories are necessarily exposed when herded together in hot contaminating crowds, and regarded, as the very term 'hands' so generally applied to them itself suggests, rather as so many mere component parts of the machinery than as human beings? Shall not we, in our factories, obviate the evil, by increasing, so far as we may, by education, the average moral strength of those by whose toils we profit? And shall we not, at the same time, strive earnestly to purify the moral atmosphere in which they work, by shutting out, or at least mitigating, the temptations and occasions of evil which the average moral strength of factory children is found incapable of resisting? It is said—you must all have frequently heard it—that joint-stock

companies have no consciences. Let this company prove itself an exception to any such rule by acting towards its factory 'hands' as not forgetting that those 'hands' have human hearts and immortal souls."

An extensive field for the elevation of one of the lowest classes in the country has been, as yet, comparatively, but little cultivated,—I mean, the masses of the poor immured in workhouses.

The condition of criminals and that of paupers is often compared in the present day. As regards the greater abundance of the necessaries of life provided for the prisoner, there is plainly an error in presuming both in similar circumstances, and therefore to be treated alike, in this respect. Society has taken away the liberty of the one, and is directly responsible that he suffers nothing beyond his legal punishment. The other is free to leave, and has the possibility (I am far from saying in all cases) of bettering his condition, through relatives or otherwise. With respect to the moral and spiritual treatment of criminals and paupers, it forms, so far as I have had opportunities for judging, a painful contrast.

Gentlemen are willing to take charge of prisoners, but they would think it degradation to be governors of poor-houses. Why? I believe the answer simply to be, in one case they are enabled to keep their natural place in society by adequate support; in the other, not. The same remark applies to chaplains and schoolmasters. A false notion of economy debars the poor in the workhouse from the inestimable

advantage of a high sort of religious and moral influence *wholly devoted* to their spiritual and social advancement, and entails a loss upon society.

Are these classes alone incapable of moral elevation? Are they alone unworthy of the philanthropist's regard? Some Christians are willing to explore this region of benevolence in the spirit of a Sarah Martin, and gratuitously to bring a high moral influence to bear upon its inhabitants. Why are they not welcomed?

"It is an observation," writes the British Ladies' Society for visiting Prisons, "which has been made by an experienced member of this Committee, that the worst *Prison* cases come from *Workhouses*, and it is greatly wished that the simple means of good, which have been found efficacious in prisons, might be extended to these establishments. From the gratuitous visits of Christian ladies, whose main object, under the blessing of God, is to bring the Scriptures in their practical and experimental power to bear upon those visited, we may surely hope that much benefit might arise, particularly to the young, who have fallen probably through the ignorance, neglect, and misrule of their parents; and to the aged, who, from this, their last resting-place on earth, must shortly pass into a boundless eternity."

It is no small cause for thankfulness to observe, lately, in the Minutes of the Council of Education, "accounts of the establishment of normal and model schools, with the object of training masters of schools for pauper and for criminal children;"

and forming, in connexion with education, in country parts, "school field-gardens;" and in towns, workshops for trades; and in both, "wash-houses and kitchens," "in which girls may be successfully instructed in domestic economy."

The early example set by the guardians of the Bridgnorth Union, in the employment of pauper children, and the improvement of bad land in the neighbourhood, deserves universal imitation.

They have a school-farm at Quatt, the children being separated from the workhouse at Bridgnorth. It is managed by a master, acting in the double capacity of master of the house and schoolmaster, and his wife is matron. Their united salary is £50, with rations. The house is capable of accommodating 49 children. The school is industrial, the boys being employed in the cultivation of four and a half acres of land, and in the management of cows, pigs, and pony. Three, and occasionally four, cows are kept, and from four to eight pigs. The girls are employed in the house and dairy-work, in washing, ironing, and baking, together with sewing, knitting, and making their own clothes, &c., &c. The produce is disposed of—first, in supplying the inmates of the school with milk and potatoes, charged at market prices; and the rest, such as butter, pigs, &c., is sold at Bridgnorth. The children, like all others in a workhouse, are clothed and fed by the union. Their time is usually thus employed: they rise at half-past 5 in the summer, and at a quarter before 7 in the winter; they work till 8; school from 9

till 12; dine at 1; and at 2 P.M. they go to their work—the boys to their field and garden, and the girls to their sewing, knitting, &c. They leave work at 5, and sup at 6, after which they play an hour, or more, if the weather permit; and, as they sing in church, they practise the psalms and chants for the following Sunday, and the day is closed with prayers. The profits of the farm are carried to the account of the union; they amount to from £60 to £70 per annum on an average, after paying rent and taxes, together with a per-centage on the buildings, draining, &c.

Mr. Tuffnell, the Government Inspector, reports most favourably of schools of this kind; and in this communication throws out a suggestion which, to me, considering the wants of our Australian colonies, and the excessive number and consequent demoralization of poor friendless girls in this country, appears very valuable:

"I believe that there is no description of children dependent on the poor rates who would not be materially benefited by a transference to our southern colonies; but the scheme is peculiarly fitted to orphan children, as they are too often perfectly friendless, and would have no ties to sever by emigration. In order, however, to benefit to the utmost both England and her colonists, it would be desirable to send them out at the earliest possible age, and to keep them for a certain period in orphan asylums to be erected in the colonies, where they might be taught such trades and occupations as are most in demand.

These colonial asylums should be erected, maintained, and managed entirely under the supervision of the colonists, while the passage-money should in all cases be paid by the parishes or friends of the emigrants. The cost to all parties of such

a scheme would, I am confident, be considerably less than what is incurred at present.*

With respect to two schools, easily approached by rail from London, on the Croydon and Epsom line, Mr. Tuffnell writes as follows:

"The Central London District School at Norwood proceeds under the same successful system of management that has characterized it for many years. Agricultural labour is now about to be added to the other forms of industrial employment provided for the boys, and a handsome chapel has been built, capable of containing the 1,000 souls who constitute the population of the school. But the results obtained in the North Surrey District School, owing to its later foundation, afford by far the most remarkable proof of the advantages that would ensue from the general establishment of this description of pauper schools. As this school has been little more than two years in operation, it is possible to make an accurate comparison between what the children were under the old workhouse system, and what they are under the district school system. The improvement in morals, manners, discipline, and instruction is so great, that I think no one who sees it could doubt the superior efficacy of the system of education here pursued. Stealing, lying, deception, writing improper words upon the wall, insubordination, and mistrust, were a few of the evils with which the managers had to contend on the opening of the school. At present the above vices are hardly known. The getting rid of

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* Emigration, as a remedy for some of our social anomalies, is now gone by, except of this kind, or of poor families in which females greatly predominate.

I may take occasion further here to add, by way of answer to many inquiries respecting Mrs. Chisholm, that I believe that lady to be thoroughly benevolent; but, as a sincere Roman Catholic, she must use her influence for the good of her church, and much farther, perhaps, than she ever intended. If her efforts had been amongst her co-religionists in Ireland, they would have been less open to suspicion.

the mistrust and suspicion which the boys mostly felt towards their officers, and persuading them that those who were set over them were really actuated by a desire to promote their welfare, was the most difficult feat to perform. But I believe that this most important point, which was quite essential to the moral success of the school, has now been fully attained.

"I will mention a few facts which will place in contrast the change that has been worked in the character of these children. In the first week of the opening of the establishment, they broke out into open riot, in which 100*l.* worth of damage was done to the building. At present, though the number of children has been doubled, the risks of such a disorder occurring are hardly within the bounds of possibility. But perhaps the ease with which the truth is arrived at, when the master makes inquiry respecting any offence that has been secretly committed, is the most gratifying proof of the moral status of the children. Of this I will mention an instance.

"Three of the boys, when the school was out walking, robbed a poor woman of her apples from a tree in her garden. She complained to a policeman, who brought the complaint to the chief schoolmaster. Upon which he assembled the boys, told them of the disgrace that had been brought upon the establishment, and expressed his hope that those boys who had committed the crime would come forward and confess their guilt. The three delinquents immediately came forward. The master then said, that, in consequence of their ready confession, he would not punish them; but he appealed to the whole school on behalf of the poor woman who had lost her property, and hoped that those who had any halfpence would subscribe them to recompense her. This appeal was immediately answered by the collection of 6*s.* 6*d.* in halfpence; which sum was committed to the care of the three criminals, who took it to the poor woman, asked her forgiveness, and so ended one of the worst offences that for some time has appeared in the North Surrey School. Such an instance could not occur in a school which was not in a sound moral condition; and it should also be remembered that it happened among children taken from the lowest grade of London poverty."

The following two cases will illustrate the economy

of the two systems. They are supplied to me by the excellent chaplain of the North Surrey School:

"In one of the unions comprised in our School District, there is a pauper who became chargeable to his parish at a very early age, and received his education in the workhouse school. He is now 25 or 26 years old, and has never ceased to be chargeable to his parish (except when in prison) for more than a week or two at a time. He is, at the moment I am writing, in the county gaol for the 15th time, and is undergoing a sentence of 2 years imprisonment, with hard labour, for threatening the life of the Vice-Chairman of the Board, who had officially, one day, to convey to him the refusal of the Guardians to allow him out-door relief. This is probably an extreme case. But still I fear many a case might be found in other workhouses, parallel in all its essential features.

"Now contrast with this a case of a boy from the same union who has recently left our school.

"This boy was admitted into the school very shortly after the opening of the establishment. He was then nearly 14½ years of age. The account I received of his former career was not favourable. Still, his conduct with us was generally good; though, had I been asked to point out the most promising case, I certainly should not have selected him. Being a strong, active lad, we sent him to work on alternate days at the farm. He soon imbibed a great fondness for his employment, and, at the expiration of his first year, he had learned to follow the plough, reap, and tend the cattle, in a very creditable manner. At length he was sent for by the Board, who had obtained a situation for him at some marble works in town. The boy at first exhibited great reluctance to accept the situation, on account of his preference for agricultural work. He was desired to withdraw from the Board-room, while the Guardians consulted what was to be done with him. Upon being readmitted, he at once said that he had changed his mind, and would accept the situation. The Guardians were naturally surprised at this sudden change of resolution, and inquired the cause of it. 'Gentlemen,' he replied, 'it is true I should much prefer being a farm labourer, but I am afraid if I do not accept this offer, I shall have to go back,—not to the school, as I am now 16, but to the work-

house; and *I would do anything rather than that.*' It is much to the credit of the Board that they immediately sent him back to the school to await a more eligible offer; and, very shortly, they obtained a situation for him in a neighbouring gentleman's family, to look after his horse and garden. He has now been there nearly a year. He frequently obtains leave to attend our Chapel services on Sunday, and I hear that he gives his master perfect satisfaction."

Ragged and industrial schools, in Christian hands, are of double value in the prevention of crime. They give education on a sound basis, and to the class most in danger of falling from virtue. They become, also, the centres of improvement in depraved localities.

A public-house in the worst part of Westminster, once the resort of Turpin and his gang, now converted into a school, a reading and lecture-room, by Home Missionary enterprise, is not only a fact, but an illustration of the work itself, and the social benefits it becomes the parent of, in such regions. A short time back, a respectable person could not be seen to walk in Duck-lane. A self-denying City missionary opened a passage. The Earl of Shaftesbury planted his schools, and the character of the very place was elevated. A few hours spent there in company with the missionary are amongst the most pleasing reminiscences of my life.

The great value of industrial schools, in a financial as well as a moral point of view, is now ascertained in almost all our great towns. The particulars of one in Aberdeen, as stated in a pamphlet

by my honoured friend Mr. Thompson, of Banchory-house, must suffice:—

"A few years since, there were 280 children in Aberdeen who had no visible means of subsistence but by begging and stealing. A begging child is now seldom to be seen in our streets or in the county, and *juvenile delinquency has considerably diminished*. The former result has been produced by the establishment of Schools of Industry; and, in order still more to diminish juvenile delinquency, an improved system of industrial training is earnestly recommended.

"In April, 1846, the Rural Police Committee of the county of Aberdeen, in referring to the great diminution of juvenile vagrants in the county, thus allude to the effects of the Schools of Industry:—

"'But the most gratifying part of the results of last year's experience consists in the almost complete disappearance of juvenile vagrants from the county. During the whole year only fourteen cases of juvenile vagrancy have occurred. The following are the numbers for each year:—

1840-41	...	...	321	1843-44	...	...	345
1841-42	...	...	297	1844-45	...	...	105
1842-43	...	...	397	1845-46	...	..	14

"'Your Committee desire to draw particular attention to this subject, feeling it to be of the highest importance, because juvenile vagrancy is, they are persuaded, the nursery whence a large proportion of the crime and pauperism of after years is furnished.'"

The sentiments of Mr. Thompson fully agree with my own, as to the chief value of all schools:—

"No industrial school can prosper unless placed under the management of persons of firm, immovable principles,—whose hearts are full of love to the souls as well as to the *persons* of the pupils,—and whose great desire is to bring them to the

knowledge of the only Saviour, while they neglect no other needful care and instruction. One great object to be ever kept in view is to make the school, as it were, 'a happy home' to the children."

The pamphlets of Mr. Thompson and the Rev. Dr. Guthrie (published by Nisbet) should be perused for further information on this important subject. The first-named gentleman has since published a valuable book on this and kindred subjects ("Social Evils; their Causes and Cure." Nisbet.)

The number of Ragged Schools in the metropolis is now about 120, attended by some 20,000 children, and nearly 2,000 teachers, on the Lord's day, of whom about 200 are paid teachers, and assistants in the week.

To give some of my readers, who have not had the opportunity of observing, an idea of the materials of which these schools are formed, and the effect which they produce upon the population around them, it may be as well here to add an account of one or two, in the metropolis, given by eye-witnesses.

Charles Dickens has given a graphic description of *Field Lane School*. A writer in the "Edinburgh Journal," thus describes his visit to the same, in 1845:—

"The Smithfield 'Ragged School' is situate at 65, West Street, a locality where vice and fever hold fearful sway. To open it in any other neighbourhood would be to defeat the object of the projectors. The very habiliments of the boys, so patched, that the character of the original texture could scarcely be gleaned, would almost be sufficient to preclude their ingress

to a more respectable neighbourhood, and make them slink back abashed into their loathsome dens. The house has that battered, worn aspect, which speaks of dissolute idleness; the windows are dark and dingy, and the street too narrow to admit a current of fresh air; and it needed, on the rainy day in March in which it was visited, but a slightly active imagination to call up visions of the robberies and murders which have been planned in it, and of which it has been the scene.

"The entrance to the school was dark, and there being no windows to illuminate the rickety staircase, we stumbled into the school-room on the first floor, before we were aware. On entering, the eye was greeted by a spectacle to which, from its mingled humour and pathos, the pencil of Hogarth could have alone done justice. We found a group of from forty to fifty girls in one room, and about sixty boys in another; the girls, although the offspring of thieves, quiet, winning, and maidenly; but the boys full of grimace and antics, and, by jest and cunning glances, evincing that they thought the idea of attending school fine fun. Foremost amongst them was a boy apparently aged seventeen, but as self-collected as a man of forty, of enormous head, and with a physiognomy in which cunning and wit were equally blended, whose mastery over the other boys was attested by their all addressing him as 'captain.' The boys had their wan, vice-worn faces, as clean as could be expected, and their rags seemed furbished up for the occasion; whilst their ready repartee, and striking original remarks, and the electric light of the eye, when some peculiar practical joke was perpetrated, evinced that intellect was there, however uncultivated or misused. Unless we are greatly self-deceived, we beheld in this unpromising assemblage as good a show of heads as we have ever seen in any other Sunday School, and the remark is justified by what we learned with respect to the shrewdness generally evinced by these children. The predominant temperament was the sanguine, a constitution which usually indicates great love for animal exercise; and during the time we were present, they appeared as if they could not sit quiet one moment—hands, feet, head, nay, the very trunk itself, seemed perpetually struggling to do something, and that something generally being found in sheer mischief.

"Hymns were occasionally sung to lively measures, the girls

singing with a sweetness and pathos that sunk deep into the heart; but the boys were continually grimacing and joking, yet all the time attempting to look grave and sober, as if they were paying the most respectful attention. When the superintendent told the boys that he was about to pitch the tune, and that they must *follow* him, the boy before mentioned as the captain cried out in a stage-whisper, 'Mr. —— says we are to follow him—I wonder where he 's going to?' a jest hailed with a general laugh by his confederates.

"Amongst these boys, however, were some to whom the word of kindness was evidently a 'word in season,' and who drank in the tender accents with which they were addressed—perchance for the first time—as if it were music to their souls. Then, again, was to be seen some poor puny lad, as gentle in mind as in body, who was obviously dying from unfitness to cope with the requirements of his circumstances—poor tender saplings, growing in an atmosphere which was too bleak for any but the forest oak to brave. Untrained, except to crime, as most of the children are, much good has already been effected."

The Lamb and Flag Ragged School is planted in another bad region of the metropolis, and has produced the most pleasant fruits.

Clerkenwell was once a lovely country of hill and dale, sparkling streams, and sheltering woods. Fitzstephen,* writing in 1196, speaks of the "open, pleasant meadow, the flowing rivulets, and the noise of the water-wheels," in the suburbs on the north side of the City wall. How altered now! A writer in the "Illustrated News," thus describes it:—

"Many of our readers are, no doubt, familiar with the densely-peopled, dirty, confused, huddled locality which stretches round the Middlesex Sessions House. Many of them have, we doubt not, been bewildered amid the dingy, swarming alleys, crowded

* Cromwell's "History of Clerkenwell."

with tattered, sodden-looking women, and hulking, unwashed men, clustering around the doors of low-browed public-houses, or seated by dingy, unwindowed shops, prosy with piles of dust, rickety rubbish, or reeking with the odour of coarse food, lumps of carrion-like looking meat simmering in greasy pans, and brown, crusty morsels of fish, still gluey with the oil in which they have been fried. In Clerkenwell there is grovelling, starving poverty. In Clerkenwell broods the darkness of utter ignorance. In its lanes and alleys the lowest debauch, the coarsest enjoyment, the most infuriate passions, the most unrestrained vice, roar and riot. It is the locality of dirt, and ignorance, and vice, the recesses whereof are known but to the disguised policeman, as he gropes his way up rickety staircases towards the tracked house-breaker's den, or the poor shabby-genteel City Missionary, as he kneels at midnight by the foul straw of some convulsed and dying outcast."

In the centre of this "locality of dirt, ignorance, and vice,"* and close to the "Clerke's Well" of old, Lamb Court is situated. At the time the above sketch was written, a stranger sometimes paused at its entrance, but never ventured through; even the police seldom went there alone. But now, though the inhabitants are much the same, the habitations quite as wretched, visitors no longer need to fear insult or violence, but invariably meet with civility and respect. By what has this change been wrought? The reformatory influence of a Ragged School.

The Lamb and Flag Ragged School has been established nearly seven years. Its origin is traced to the active zeal of the City Missionary. The interest of Mr. Humphrey was awakened on behalf of

* Ragged School Magazine, Feb., 1853.

the hundreds of poor, naked, ignorant children with which these courts abounded. He often saw them taken, and tried by justice for the breach of laws of which they were ignorant, and which no one had ever taught them they were to respect; and he asked, Could nothing be done for those poor neglected little ones? Faith whispered, Try. He took a small ill-ventilated room in Lamb Court, and on the Sabbath-day collected together as many as it would contain, and there taught them the first principles of that truth, which to know aright "is life everlasting." His self-denying efforts having come to the knowledge of the Rector of the parish, through his District Visitors, a Committee was formed for carrying on the work thus commenced. The lease of a house in Lamb Court, locally known as "*Jack Ketch's Warren*," from the fact of its having been a training-place for young thieves, was obtained, and altered, at a considerable cost, into a school-room. Thus was the foundation of a good work laid, and, in carrying it on, many difficulties were to be surmounted. Amid much insult, and some personal violence, did the teachers prosecute their labours, endeavouring to remove the prejudices of the people, and striving to disperse that gross darkness with which ignorance had enveloped the inhabitants of these courts. Nor did their patient labour lose its reward.

An interest in their welfare, and the voice of gentle kindness and compassion, were things almost unknown to the dwellers in these courts, and it was

some little time before they could believe that the profession of friendliness made to them was sincere and disinterested. But, this discovered, from foes they became friends—from hinderers, helpers of the work. Soon realizing the advantage of the school to their children, they solicited the Committee to open a Day School. Mr. Vanderkiste, the then Missionary of the district, warmly espoused the cause. Funds were placed at the disposal of the Committee,* which enabled them to open a Daily School, under the care of a duly-trained Master and Mistress. By much toil, and through much trouble, a Free Day School was also established, and was speedily filled. The attention of the Committee was now turned towards improving the outward appearance of the poor ragged ones attending the schools. A Clothing Fund was therefore established, to which the parents of the children pay according to their means, from one penny upwards; to every shilling so subscribed, the Committee add a bonus of fourpence. Many a bare foot was soon covered, many a half-naked body decently clad, and protected from the cold and rain. An Adult Evening School we find next established. Its teachers were voluntary, and the scholars of the most disorderly characters. Strict discipline, firmness, and kind treatment, in a great measure shortly changed these rough features into those of a more pleasing description. The Committee opened an Infant

* See "Notes and Narratives of a Six Years' Mission."—Nisbet.

School, which has proved a most valuable auxiliary to the other schools. The room fitted up for this purpose was only capable of containing sixty children, and it was immediately filled, and it became evident that this branch of the Committee's labour was the most appreciated.

The school-rooms were opened in the Sabbath evening for a Devotional Service, consisting of prayer, reading and expounding the Scriptures, and exhortation.

The schools were now all crowded, but the rooms were small and ill-ventilated, and, consequently, the health of the teachers failed. Children and infants were every week refused admission for want of accommodation. An enlargement of the premises was decided upon. Two small tenements adjoining the old school-house were taken and pulled down, and upon this enlarged site the present schools were erected, and re-opened in October, 1852.

The friends and teachers have abundant testimony that they have not laboured in vain. We will, however, only state one fact illustrative of the silent influence such institutions have upon the neighbourhood in which they are situated:—Lamb Court is, as has been stated, a locality of filth. Its inhabitants, principally costermongers, Smithfield drovers, etc., throw their refuse into the court, where it often remains until swept away by the scavenger. On a recent occasion, a public meeting of the subscribers and friends was held at the school-rooms, which becoming known to the inhabitants of the court,

just before the meeting assembled, unsolicited by any, they appeared with broom and pail, and thoroughly washed the court from end to end, as though they were anxious to redeem their character, and that nothing unpleasant to the eye or nose should annoy the visitors to their schools.

Upon visiting these schools, a stranger is struck with the neat and orderly appearance of the children, especially on the Sunday, and naturally thinks that many are fit for higher, or paid schools. But a more careful scrutiny will remove this impression. The operation of the Clothing Fund, and careful training, have produced these results. *The teachers have strict instructions to admit no children but such as belong to the class for whom they are intended.*

The class of children found in Ragged Schools may fitly be described in the words of a lady who has devoted her talents to the prevention of crime:

"A large proportion are decidedly of the perishing classes, in their lowest condition of abject poverty and want, uncertain of every meal, and careless, therefore, of everything but obtaining the bread that perisheth; a smaller proportion are of the dangerous classes themselves, or those connected with them, being known to be engaged in practices directly or indirectly injurious to society; while a smaller proportion still are members of families who should be in a different position, but who have been sunk by circumstances which may or may not have been under their own control, but from which they cannot free themselves without a helping hand."*

Many of the children present a sad spectacle—

* Carpenter on Reformatory Schools.

pale and emaciated, their physical growth stunted for want of proper food, while the intellect is precociously sharpened—children of five years of age with the wit and shrewdness of adults. It is not an unfrequent thing for some of the children to enter school eating a raw carrot or turnip, or some equally unnutritive article of diet, and which forms their only breakfast; while others are known to come without food at all, when the little ones gladly share such as they have with their less fortunate companions. The master informs us that in a recent visit to the homes of the children in Turnmill Street, and the courts and alleys adjacent, he found "want, wretchedness, and misery, abounding on every side, owing, in very many cases, to want of employment, in others to idleness and drunkenness; and yet, to judge by the appearance of many of the children, no one would have considered such to be the fact," there being a strong desire in many of the parents to send their children clean and neat, though the garments obtained through the Clothing Fund are often paid for by the sacrifice of necessary daily food.

John Pounds, a crippled cobbler of Portsmouth, with a canary-bird on one shoulder, and a cat on the other, first teaching, as he wrought in his little wooden house, a crippled nephew; then, to do more in the same time, the child of a very poor neighbour; and, at length, a class of dirty ragged boys, who crowded themselves around him on his working days, and followed him to church on the Lord's-

day, — taught the true philosophy of Ragged Schools.

This singular, but gifted and pious poor man, in this way instructed hundreds of children, who grew up to be useful members of society, many of whom would have otherwise perished in the vortex of vice, nowhere worse than in that most wicked town.

Pounds died in 1839, and many an honest tradesman, and stout-hearted sailor and soldier, have wept since over his grave, remembering the kind-hearted and generous friend of their boyhood, who taught them to read and to think, to pray, and to labour honestly for their bread; who played with them as he taught, nursed them when they were sick, and cheered their friendless, homeless poverty.

Thomas Cranfield, a pious operative of London, did the same in the metropolis; and entered into the joy of his Lord about the same time.

How very small a thing is this world's greatness, compared with the nobility of such followers of Christ, and benefactors of mankind!

Now arose, in God's good providence, an institution, which has since brought, by its direct labour, an untold amount of blessing to this *million-peopled city*, and has become the pioneer and preparer of the ground for many other enterprises, designed for the physical and moral improvement of the poor,— the *London City Mission*.

I refer the reader here to this noble enterprise and achievement of unsectarian Christian philanthropy, merely in its subordinate and less noticed features,

as one of the most seasonable agencies raised up in our times for the prevention of crime. I look upon the 320 missionaries of this society, stationed in the worst parts of London, as so many moral-force constables, and worth to society more than tenfold the number of the best organized police.

The magistracy, under existing statutes, and the legislature, by new or amended laws, could prevent much crime.

A thorough, sifting investigation by magistrates, and the enforcement of law in the better regulation of public-houses, pleasure-gardens, casinos, and other places of resort, would repress much crime, by the removal of some of its most prolific causes.

I have noticed with great satisfaction a wise move on the part of the Total Abstinence Society, deputing a properly qualified person to attend on licensing day, and prove to the bench of magistrates the absence of necessity for granting *new licenses* in several towns, and *new licenses*, in most cases, were not conceded. *If this were done in every town for three years, and those licenses withdrawn which were proved to have been abused*—it would do more to repress crime and the growth of immorality in the country, than all our prisons or reformatories. As to the people's amusements being interfered with, this is a chimera, got up by interested parties, to deter magistrates from doing their duty. The people to be dealt with are thoughtless juveniles,—miserable drunkards,—thieves,—abandoned women, and the like. Are not the parents of young persons, their

teachers, and their friends, who would save them from rushing into ruin; the many wives pauperized by the drunkard's habits, and the whole moral and religious public of the country, *as much* entitled, to say the least, to be called *the people?* One might very well be content to abide by the suffrages of the very drunkards and pleasure-takers *in their sober moments.* None curse with bitterer imprecations the public-house and the Sunday pleasure-ground, which have proved the sources of such wretchedness, if not ruin, to themselves.

When one compares, in their moral aspect, the Middlesex House of Detention with the demoralizing prison of Clerkenwell, which it displaced; or the new prison of Wandsworth, and the London House of Correction in Holloway, with the vile prison of Brixton and Giltspur Street, he sees a step taken towards stopping crime in the metropolis: but I most respectfully submit it to the magistrates of Middlesex and Surrey, and the City, whether the same amount of energy and public spirit put forth in stopping *the supplies of crime*, such as I have referred to, would not accomplish infinitely more good, and at very much less cost?

Upon the magistracy undoubtedly rests an awful responsibility, in respect to places licensed by their authority for public entertainment. The facility with which licenses are granted is most astonishing. Places, notoriously of the most demoralizing description, where not only drunkenness, but vice in every shape, is practised, and the young of both

sexes are continually debauched, are year after year permitted to renew their horrid trade, by those whose office it is to protect the morals of the people. The mere presumption that a house is *orderly*, seems sufficient for it to pass muster. "It is the property of a most respectable individual;" yes, but that most respectable proprietor only looks to his rent, and the interest of the money which he has embarked in the concern, and so the most hideous evils grow, and gather strength; the moral public being deterred from exposing them, by the difficulty of obtaining direct proof, and the fear of an action for libel, or the odium attached to the gratuitous informer.

How gentlemen invested with this office can satisfy their conscience in this matter, without personal and repeated scrutiny, must be left to themselves to say.

Our garrisoned and sea-port towns are amongst the saddest of all places in these respects, as borough magistrates are the worst. In almost all, you have a noble Christian company of persons, lay and clerical, labouring with all their might to save our brave sailors and soldiers from the hands of enemies more destructive than the engines of war, the fury of the elements, or the malaria of climate;* but you see

* I cannot help noticing here an act of wise and munificent benevolence, in the sailor Duke of Northumberland, who has lately signified his intention of erecting and presenting to the port of North Shields, a handsome Sailor's Home, the cost of which would be £4000; the land, which has also been contributed by his grace, is worth £1000 more. All that the duke has requested of the shipowners is, to raise £2000 for its endowment. This sum has now been subscribed.

the treacherous foe housed, sheltered, and accredited by the magisterial residents, and that in such strength, that our sailors and soldiers must only move forth in a body, if they would be safe from the solicitations of barefaced open-day profligacy, or the merciless fangs of thieves and crimps.

As for a soldier, after a hard field-day, or march in summer, having it in his power to get an honest pint of beer in the vicinity of his barrack-home, or without having an abandoned companion forced upon him, the thing seems next to impossible. I have heard of one commanding officer prohibiting his men from walking through a street, where every third or fourth house was one of those licensed places of entertainment, with what effect I am not able to say; but what a libel upon the magistracy!

Of all these hotbeds of profligacy and crime, Portsmouth is perhaps the worst.

Some magistrates, by a benevolent exercise of the discretionary power left in their hands, repress crime in many cases without the cost and degradation of imprisonment. The learned Recorder of Birmingham, for instance, has shown, by his own practice, how much crime may be checked by one in his official station, by calling in the aid of domestic discipline, or of prudent and kind employers in the primary stages of criminality, as appears by the subjoined extract from his evidence before Lord Brougham's Committee in 1847:—

"What punishment do you generally give those children?

"I am rather fortunately situated in that respect, because many of the children at Birmingham have either friends, or relatives, or masters, who are kindly disposed, and a considerable number of them I am enabled to return to their masters or friends, and I do that under this guarantee:—the master enters into an obligation to take care of the child; his name is inscribed in a register, and at certain frequent but undetermined periods he is visited by an officer of the police, without notice, for the purpose of ascertaining what has been the conduct of the boy, *and how he has been treated.*

"Generally speaking, has the result been favourable?

"It has been favourable—not so much so as your lordships may perhaps expect; but what I consider favourable, under all the circumstances. The last time I saw the account, there had been 113 persons so disposed of. Of those, 44 maintained their positions without a single relapse; and of the conduct of 29 we were from one cause or other ignorant; the remaining 40 had relapsed."

Our laws should be made better known to the masses of the people.

I should like to see a reading lesson on the subject of crime, its causes, and its punishments, in the hands of every child taught under Government?

An *intelligible* and thorough publication of good laws must constitute a great part of their value. In the books of the National Board of Education

in Ireland, you have copious lessons upon Money, Exchange, Commerce, and the like subjects; but there is not a single page devoted to this purpose! Yet, of all places in Her Majesty's dominions, the people in that country require most to be taught the nature and functions of government, and the value of laws to the poor as well as to the rich. Can there be a party in Ireland to whom it would really give offence to teach, that property has rights as well as duties,—that the persons of jurors and witnesses should be held sacred,—that the law, which is "a terror to evil-doers," is protective of the rights of the well-disposed,—that societies which contemplate and carry out secret and bloodthirsty vengeance on obnoxious individuals, are ruinous to the best interests of the poor, deterring from amongst them capital, enterprise, and employment, which would feed and clothe them,—that atrocious criminals are not martyrs,—that assassination is murder,—and all who are *silently* privy to it, before or after, are implicated in its awful guilt? It seems that such doctrines would give offence. So the functions of government are shared with the transgressors of law, and justice is compromised or defeated. Lord Derby's government, in 1852, was a most honourable exception to this truckling system, and the laws were beginning to be respected.

"*The certainty of punishment*," says Paley, "*is of more consequence than the severity*. Criminals do not so much flatter themselves with the lenity of the

sentence, as with the hope of escaping. They are not so apt to compare what they gain by the crime with what they may suffer from the punishment, as to encourage themselves with the chance of concealment or flight. For which reason, a vigilant magistracy, an accurate police, a proper distribution of force and intelligence, together with due rewards for the discovery and apprehension of malefactors, and an undeviating impartiality in carrying the laws into execution, contribute more to the restraint and suppression of crimes than any violent exacerbations of punishment. And, for the same reason, of all contrivances directed to this end, those perhaps are most effectual which facilitate the *conviction* of criminals."

The want of certainty of punishment in Great Britain cannot be much complained of—juries can act according to their conscience, and witnesses show themselves in the streets. In Ireland the case is reversed,—*the rule there rather is, certainty of escape from justice*, ESPECIALLY IN CRIMES OF BLOOD.

Does the honourable profession of the law do much towards increasing the *certainty* of conviction and the condign punishment of the guilty? Are its doctrines sound?

The practice of our advocates in general is, I fear, too correctly expressed by one of the most eminent of their number in our times, who thus lays down the duty of an advocate:—

"An advocate, by the sacred duty which he owes

his client, knows, in the discharge of that office, but one person in the world—his client, and none other. To save that client by any expedient means—to protect that client at all hazards and costs to all others, and among others to himself, is the highest and most unquestioned of his duties; and he must not regard the alarm, the suffering, the torment, the destruction, which he may bring upon any other. Nay, separating even the duties of a patriot from those of an advocate, and casting them, if need be, to the wind, he must go on, reckless of the consequences, if his fate should unhappily be to involve his country in confusion for his client's protection."

Very different were the sentiments of the illustrious Englishman, Sir Matthew Hale, who thus speaks of his own practice :—

"I never used the advantage of elocution or rhetoric to deceive people, or to cozen them into a thing. My heart always went along with my tongue, and if I used intention of speech upon any occasion, it was upon an intention of conviction in myself of the truth, necessity, usefulness, and fitness of what I was so persuaded; if my judgment was doubtful or uncertain, so was my speech. I never used elocution or specious arguments to invite any to that which, in my own judgment, I doubted, or doubted whether it were fit or seasonable, all circumstances considered. I never used my elocution to give credit to an ill cause; to justify that which deserved blame; to justify the wicked, or to condemn the righteous; to make anything appear more

specious or enormous than it deserved. I never thought my profession should either necessitate a man to use his eloquence, by extenuations or aggravations, to make anything worse or better than it deserves, or could justify a man in it; to prostitute my elocution or rhetoric in such a way, I ever held to be most basely mercenary, and that it was below the worth of a man, much more of a Christian, to do so. When the case was good, and fully so appeared to me, I thought then was that season that the use of that ability was my duty, and that it was given me for such a time as that, and I spared not the best of my ability in such a season; and, indeed, elocution, or rhetoric, is a dead and insipid piece, unless it come from, and with a heart full of the sense and conviction of what the tongue expresseth, and then, and not till then, elocution hath its life and its energy. I esteemed these cases best deserving my elocution, and in these I was warm and earnest; the setting forth of Thy glory; the asserting of thy truth; the detection and conviction of errors; the clearing of the innocent; the aggravating sins, oppressions, and deceits; and though I was careful that I did not exceed the bounds of truth or of moderation, yet I ever thought that these were the seasons for which that talent was given me, and accordingly I employed it."

"Hoffman, a celebrated American advocate, and author, in his 'Course of Legal Study addressed to Students and the Profession generally,' among other rules, has the following:—

"'When employed to defend those charged with crimes of the deepest dye, and the evidence against them, whether legal or moral, be such as to leave no just doubt of their guilt, I shall not hold myself privileged, much less obliged, to use my endeavours to arrest or to impede the course of justice by special resorts to ingenuity—to the artifices of eloquence—to appeals to the morbid and fleeting sympathies of weak juries, &c. Persons of atrocious character, who have violated the laws of God and man, are entitled to no such special exertions from any member of our pure and honourable profession; and, indeed, to no intervention beyond securing to them a fair and dispassionate investigation of the *facts* of their cause, and the due application of the law; all that goes beyond this, either in manner or substance, is unprofessional, and proceeds either from a mistaken view of the relation of client and counsel, or from some unworthy and selfish motive, which sets a higher value on professional display and success, than on truth and justice, and the substantial interests of the community.'" *

In suppressing crime by legal measures, a great point would be gained if the punishment of the doubly guilty receiver of stolen property were made more severe. As soon as such persons are apprehended, they fee the best lawyer, and transfer their property—the produce of a thousand robberies, per-

* See "The Lawyer: his Character and Rule of Holy Life. By Edward O'Brien, Barrister-at-law." (Pickering.)

haps—to some relative. This could be prevented. All parties convicted of receiving stolen goods should forfeit all their estate and effects which they possessed *at the time of the purchase*, or which were held by any person in trust for them; and all transfers of property should be null and void if made *after such purchase*.

If the legislature would zealously set about repressing crime, let all laws which have been proved directly to generate and increase immorality and vice be repealed, as the laws for preservation of game. The preservation of human life annually sacrificed in their maintenance, and the preservation of the morals of our peasantry, are surely of more importance. Let the rich and the noble, however, be protected in their private demesnes, just as much as the poor man in his garden. If still retained, let all trespassers after game or unlicensed persons with guns be considered as volunteers for Her Majesty's service, and be at once drafted accordingly. Such men would prove good soldiers, although bad citizens and costly criminals. Some would say, "Then why not repeal the laws for the preservation of hen-roosts?" The case is essentially different. To pursue wild animals does not carry upon the face of it immorality and crime. To invade a farmyard and steal, does. Poaching is the parent of many crimes and gross vice; fowl-stealing is an evil *per se*. The preservation of game has the frightful sequel every year of some twenty coroner's inquests. About one-fourth of the cases of murder and man-

slaughter in Great Britain are the result of poaching. No species of robbery results in such destruction of human life as this. The best that can be said for the Game Laws, is, that they keep alive a martial spirit in the peasantry, and that poachers may be converted, in a crisis, into good riflemen, game-keepers into non-commissioned officers, and their young masters into subalterns and captains. Between 3000 and 4000 individuals, under these laws, are committed to prison annually. The half of these might perhaps be at once enlisted, and would form an admirable corps. (Offenders against the Excise being able-bodied, I should like to see sent at once to man our navy.)

Many of the aristocracy are humanely and wisely relaxing their game-preserving regulations. Of the late Duke of Wellington, the following is related:—"One of his keepers was killed in an affray with poachers, who were arrested and convicted. He immediately ordered his well-stocked preserves to be thrown open, saying he would not allow his men to be murdered, and other people to be transported, for the sake of a parcel of birds and some paltry game."

If these laws have been the cause of crime in thousands,—the Beer Law may reckon its victims by tens of thousands.

This most unfortunate act of parliament, which is now almost confessed by all to have increased intemperance and pauperism, multiplied houses of resort for the gambler, the thief, and the disposer of

stolen property, and so demoralized to a fearful extent the labouring classes, is retained for the purpose of money supply to the treasury of the state! Can any one persuade himself, that the source of so much costly evil, immorality, and crime, can be any real profit to the state?

Heavy, ruinous fines upon all proprietors of houses of entertainment where thieves and such characters are harboured, or crime perpetrated and planned, would bring into the treasury a healthier revenue, and save a vast public loss; and publicans, from being the abettors of crime, would be converted into officers of justice and useful citizens. We have *the health of towns* board, why not a commission for *the morals of towns?*

Laws protective of the working-classes in hours of labour, for which there is a precedent in the Factory Bill, are called for in this age of fearful competition, monster companies, and exacting toil.

The late act for not opening public-houses, on Sunday till after morning service, sensibly lessened crimes in towns; why should not the prohibition be extended to the remainder of the day, excepting, if it must be, the hours of dinner and supper, for the sale of beer, not to be used on the premises?

With respect to *pleasure-traffic* on the Lord's-day, there should be no hesitation about prohibiting it. The vast majority of those who avail themselves of it, are, young men and women employed at hard work, or sedentary employment in the week, who have the use of their legs, and to whom a brisk

walk with a friend, rational converse, a good book, and their money saved, would be infinitely more conducive to their every-day health and happiness, than being whirled along in a railway from one terminus to another, and the public-house or pleasure garden, with worse than doubtful acquaintances. Vast numbers in our great towns have relatives in the country. By all means let such connexions be kept up. *An enactment prohibiting a reduction of fares on the Sunday, and compelling companies to carry passengers in the second-class carriages, with lights, at a proper speed, after seven o'clock to eleven in the evening of Saturday, and back early on Monday morning, at single fares*, would injure no company, would give to thousands of overworked railway servants a day of rest in their families, and greatly conduce to public morals.

In the appendix will be found a petition on the subject of the Crystal Palace, which will explain my views on that question, and that of nineteen twentieths of the prison chaplains of the metropolis.

At a meeting of the Lord's-day Society, which I had the honour of attending, the Archdeacon of Salisbury exposed by astounding facts, the evils of pleasure-trains in our provincial towns :—"The greatest evil and innovation in connexion with the Sabbath with which he was acquainted was the running of Sunday excursion trains. These trains were not so visible in the metropolis as in the country towns through which they ran. He could state, for example, in reference to the city of Salisbury,

that the days on which excursion trains arrived were days on which the saddest scenes were witnessed,—days in which the public-houses were filled; and he was told by one who employed a large number of working men, that, so far from those who took part in such excursions being benefited by what was termed relaxation, a great number of them were utterly unfitted for pursuing their labours on the following day. Almost every public conveyance was hired to go to Stonehenge, or some other place of interest in the neighbourhood; and the driver of a fly had declared to him that while the excursion trains were running, he scarcely ever had a day of rest. Such being one of the evils of Sabbath desecration, and seeing how much that evil would be multiplied if the Crystal Palace were opened on Sunday, (for then there would be one constant excursion train running, without intermission every Sunday,) he most readily entered into the present feelings of those who were engaged in working the Society."

Industrial, preventive, and reformatory schools, should be encouraged and helped by annual parliamentary grants, after careful inspection as to *moral*, rather than to intellectual, progress. Society, in enterprises of this nature, I am satisfied, should take the initiative, and government stimulate by suitable rewards such as are proved to be really useful.

An enlightened public press is a great power for the suppression of immorality and crime. Upon the whole, in Great Britain, public morals are in-

debted to the press. It is sad that there should be exceptions, and that literary men should prostitute their talents for doing good, to the purposes of gain, or a transient popularity, and unsettle the foundations of the morals of the people.

A public exposure in *Household Words*, or some other popular paper, of the frauds of business (as the *Lancet* lately put forth in matters of food), would be of great service. The weekly periodical, the *Leisure Hour*, for adults, and the *Band of Hope Review*, for children, are illustrations how the working-classes and young people may be interested and benefited at little cost. The true way to keep immoral reading out of the hands of people is to put before them a cheaper and better literature. To a great extent those publications have shown how this may be done. A cheap weekly newspaper, edited by an able Christian man, of catholic spirit, open to the literary contributions of *working people* only, might be made extensively attractive, combining the elements of sound knowledge, and fundamental Scripture truths.

I proceed now, in the last place, to consider how the community, in its most general sense, may be influenced, so as to prevent much crime.

This is the most important division of our subject; yet I must lightly touch upon it, as the province I conceive to be assigned to me, is rather the region of facts and experience, than of opinion.

If society in the main were sound in morals and religion, the public sentiment itself would be a most

effective law; discountenancing vice, and making crime in every form disreputable and odious. It would also help further to promote virtue and honour; not only by direct instruction in the culture of youth, but far more forcibly by example, so as to bequeath the richest legacy to posterity. A generation rising in the scale of morals itself, will be followed by a still better, and *vice versâ*. In such a condition of society, not only would the thief, the burglar, the murderer, be condignly punished; but also all who contribute to the burdens of their country, by propagating and perpetuating vice. The neglect of children by drunken parents; the direct teaching of dishonest arts in business, by employers; the oppression of the employed poor; and all profligacy in every rank, would receive, at the bar of public opinion, at least, a penalty which forms the heaviest part of legal punishment, degradation from a man's class, and universal contempt. Such a healthy aspect of society would soon come to be reflected in the every-day press, which rather follows than directs the public mind, and no less distinctly by the legislature itself, which in a free country partakes much of the like character. Hence laws would be originated, not only for the repression of crimes by suitable punishment, but for the protection and encouragement of the useful members of the community, and government would fulfil the twofold office assigned to rulers in Holy Writ, becoming "a terror to evil doers, and *for the praise of them that do well.*"

Hence, also, would spring up the most powerful support which laws can receive, the public approval, and an enlightened enforcement of them upon the people, by powerful and practised writers. Nor is it to be omitted, that the most effective agents in every enterprise would then be at hand, both to carry out measures for the reformation of the lapsed, and the prevention of evil in those parts of the population exposed especially to danger.

On the other hand, if the general tone of morals be low, and the public sentiment irreligious, the popular representatives, supposing them to be well disposed, would lose, at least, one great incentive to, what I would call, moral legislation, and laws, good perchance, and exceptional, would prove comparatively powerless; not being backed by public opinion. The press, also, would too readily pander to the vitiated popular taste, and further corrupt it; and things would go from bad to worse, until the efforts of virtue, patriotism, and humanity, in behalf of the poor, the oppressed, and the fallen, were well-nigh extinguished, or completely overwhelmed by a mass of newly-created evils, and increasing aggravations of the old.

In which of these conditions is our country?

Some would unhesitatingly answer—in the latter. These see gloom in its present aspect, and thicker clouds gathering in the distance. The tendency of everything is to greater corruption in morals and religion. Reported improvements are specious, superficial, exceptional!

Others are just as confident that the nation is in the course of rapid and unbounded moral progress, in fact, already entering upon a sort of social millennium. This was the prevailing feeling, remarkably, when the Industrial Exhibition was uppermost in the public mind, and peace enjoyed its jubilee in the land.

The truth seems to lie between the two extreme opinions, or rather, to express more correctly my own views, is partially involved in both. Virtue and morality are advancing with the progress of the truth itself, on the one hand; specious vice, systematized crime, and infidelity, on the other! The wheat and the tares in the same field, are both ripening for the harvest. Were I to confine my view to the peculiar subjects of my own spiritual care, and the diversified scenes of guilt and misery with which I am placed continually in contact, I should be as full of gloom as the most desponding; but such a partial view, in my judgment, would manifestly lead to very wrong conclusions. At all events, I love to look beyond the bars of my prison-house, and to contemplate man in the aggregate, as well as in his exceptional condition.

Now, I think, anyone who will thus regard society, must see unmistakable signs of advancement in the moral character of the country, say within the last half century.

In the aristocratic ranks of society, it cannot be doubted that a great moral improvement has taken place since the regency, and reign of the fourth

George, during which there had been sensibly a decline. The virtuous courts of the lamented Adelaide, and of our own illustrious Queen, have more than restored the morals of this class. The marks of this progress are visible in the more temperate habits of the great, more enlightened notions of personal honour (the barbarous and criminal practice of duelling being now well-nigh exploded), their greater concern for the wants of the classes beneath them, and, consequently, a much more disinterested and beneficial legislation, on their part, for the community at large. Everyone must have observed, of late years, a remarkable drawing together of the two extremes of society—the rich, the noble, and the prince, intermixing with the masses of the people, in kindly sympathy and thorough co-operation. It would be invidious to mention instances in the upper ranks, of this sort of enlightened patriotism and philanthropy. Happily, also, they are becoming too numerous to be particularized. These distinguished persons should be especially regarded with honour by their peers, for they are the best conservators of their order, in times when the marked tendency of the world is to democracy, and the levelling of classes.

In religion, it is thought the tendency of the upper classes is to superstition and Romanism. This is probably the fact in a larger proportion than in any other. Nor is it difficult to divine, at least, the chief causes of this tendency. A religion of sentiment, and pageantry, must have peculiar attractions

for them. Outward acts of devotion, such as building and embellishing churches, flatter the pride of the rich, and too readily suggest the notion of compensation or merit, which is the very essence of popery. Moreover, the rich have always been, in the estimation of the keen sportsmen of Rome, the best game. They are most worth catching, and they are perhaps the most easily caught. Too many of the nobility and high gentry of England are, it is to be feared, profoundly ignorant of Holy Scripture, and the distinguishing doctrines of the Reformation (no credit this to their dignified tutors in early life, or their present parochial instructors). Unless, moreover, history be all fable, and papal bulls, condemnatory of the Jesuits, all lies, that mysterious, and ever active order, has been, of late years, not neglectful of its old arts, at such a crisis in the Church of England, and by professors of language, music, &c., in the modern rage for foreign accomplishments, has certainly corrupted the female mind, extremely in the aristocratic circles.

The noble Eldon was a Pharisee to the day of his death, and the more gifted Pitt, when induced by Wilberforce to hear Scott, the commentator, preach, confessed that he could not understand him. Still, I believe, a favourable change has, with all this, been going on, *pari passu*, amongst those classes, in the direction of true and spiritual godliness, and the very existence of conscientious earnestness in religion, although so lamentably misdirected, is rather symptomatic of this revived state of feeling than otherwise.

To descend from the highest, to the very lowest walks of life,—

St. Bartholomew's Fair, for centuries the annual plague of London, has of late years been forced to migrate from the City (to remove perhaps some of the moral reproach from Smithfield, to the suburban fields, now rapidly disappearing), contiguous to this prison. I have had, therefore, the most abundant opportunities for observing at all hours, from noon till midnight, the habits of that part of the population which occasionally emerges from the countless lanes and courts, and rookeries of London. The festival usually lasts for a week, exclusive, happily, of the Sunday, (this exception being in itself rather a modern improvement). Innumerable crowds throng the wide road, from King's Cross to the Copenhagen Fields, opposite to our gates, the terminus of the penny ride to the fair. From morning till night, the tom-tom is continually going, and a confused sound of music and shouting direct you to the space where the orgies are being celebrated. Looking over the terrace wall of our prison, I have repeatedly watched the multitudes passing to and fro. Now and then, I espied a policeman, moving slowly along. There were few of these conservators of the peace. I estimated the proportion as one constable to a thousand of the people, and it appeared to be quite sufficient. All were in their holiday trim, such as it was, and no doubt on their best behaviour. They took the jokes and jostlings of the passers-by with the utmost good humour, avoided giving

offence, and displayed even politeness, after their own fashion. I am free to confess, that, although reprobating in the strongest manner the perpetuation of this nuisance, year after year (more than I do even the transplantation of Smithfield itself to this field), the predominant feeling in my mind, was astonishment at the good conduct and sobriety of the rabble multitude, and I thought, surely this people are more worthy to be taken in hand by those whom Providence has placed in better circumstances, educated, and helped to innocent and rational amusement, than is usually imagined; and the government and legislature which neglect their instruction, their elevation, their comforts, neglect no less the interests of the nation.

During the Great Exhibition, we were favoured with an extra week or more of the fair, as a means of amusing the people who could not pay the shilling. It would have been better, in my opinion, to have permitted them for a trifle to view that instructive spectacle, and I am satisfied, with the exception of my peculiar friends, of the thief class, they might have been most safely trusted.

A word about the honest workmen of England, and labouring persons in general, the largest section of the people, and the broad base of the social pyramid.

In no part of the community probably has there been so great and so beneficial a change, notwithstanding all the demoralizing influences brought to bear upon it.

A commission was appointed a few year back, to

report upon the physical and moral condition of the mining districts of England. The Commissioner thus speaks of Staffordshire :—

"In estimating the present state of this important field of mining labour, it must not be forgotten how much it has been altered for the better within the living memory. *The cruel and brutalizing sports to which the population were then addicted, have greatly decreased;* the extent to which they used to be carried on appears in strong contrast with the habits of the present day. The present Incumbent of Wednesbury, the Rev. Isaac Clarkson, informed me, that only twenty-two years ago he saw brought to the baiting-place of that village-town, in one day, no less than seven bulls, three bears, and a badger, besides dogs and cocks for fighting. With the decline of these exhibitions of cruelty, the manners and language of the lower classes have improved, and scenes of violence are less frequent."

Fearful and many are the malign influences at work amongst our labouring people. "In a collection," says the same Commissioner, "of all the low-priced periodicals circulating in the towns of Wednesbury and Bilston, being fifteen in number, I found seven contained portions of very inferior novels and tales; *eight were written in a spirit of hostility either to the institutions or the religion of the country, or both.* All these publications of the latter class (anarchical, socialist, and infidel,) have a considerable and increasing sale in these districts."

The conduct of our working classes, on the exciting subjects of labour, wages, and food, stands out in the main as a happy contrast with that of the last generation.

Physical force, stack-firing, destruction of machinery, &c., are giving way to pacific and constitutional agitation, although, it is greatly to be deplored, our operatives are as yet too easily led, by clever, but empty talkers, if not designing knaves, to the adoption of measures, which, whatever be the immediate result, must tend, ultimately, to their injury as a class.

The behaviour of our working people, on the various solemn or festive occasions of late years, our national fasts, and thanksgiving days, has not been surpassed by that of any portion of Her Majesty's subjects.

Again, what could have been better than their whole bearing during their visit to the Great Exhibition, from all parts of the country? What more sublime than their homage, in common indeed with all classes, to the memory of the Duke of Wellington, on the 18th of November, 1852, that day of England's universal sadness?

Yet he was a man, of all others, who had never for a moment courted the popular applause, nor regarded its frown. They were paying respect, therefore, to his principles rather than to the man; and in the act showed the soundness of their own.

Well might the Prime Minister, the Earl of Derby, congratulate the House of Lords, and the

country, upon the conduct of the people on that occasion, when, with feelings of deep emotion, and chastened eloquence, he thus referred to it, in his ever memorable speech of the day following, in the House:—

"My lords, when you consider how large a portion of the population of the United Kingdom was for that single day crowded in the streets of the metropolis—when you remember those at least to whose lot it fell to take a part in that procession, and to see it throughout its whole length—when you remember that throughout that long line, extending to about three miles, from Grosvenor Place to St. Paul's Cathedral, there was not one single unoccupied foot of ground, and that you passed through a living sea of faces, all turned to look upon that great spectacle—when you saw every house, every window, every house-top, loaded with persons anxious to pay their last tribute of respect to the memory of England's greatest son—when you saw those persons (those at least in the streets) remaining with entire and unflinching patience for many hours, in a position in which movement was scarcely possible, and yet that hardly a single accident occurred to the most feeble woman or child among that vast assemblage—when, through the whole of that route, not only was a perfect decorum preserved, and a perfect and ready assistance given to the efforts of the police and military, but that there was no unseemly eagerness to witness the magnificent spectacle, no light or thoughtless applause of its splendour; but the

people of England, in the awful silence of those vast crowds, testified, in the most emphatic manner, the sense in which every man among them felt the public loss that England had sustained. My lords, I know not how you looked upon this great manifestation of public feeling, and of public good sense and order; but I know this, that as I passed along those lines, it was with pride and satisfaction I felt that I was a fellow-countryman of those who knew so well how to regulate and control themselves. (Hear, hear.) And I could not help entertaining a hope that those foreign visitors, who had done us and themselves the honour of assisting at this great ceremonial, might, on this occasion, as well as on the occasion of the 1st of May, 1851, bear witness back to their own countries how safely and to what an extent a people may be relied upon, over whom the strongest hold of their government was their own reverence and respect for the free institutions of their country, and the principles of popular self-government, controlled and modified by a constitutional monarchy."

Other indications of moral progress are not wanting:—

Of the 250,000 teachers ascertained by the late census to be employed in the Sunday Schools of England and Wales, the great majority are of the operative classes. This fact shows religious, as well as intellectual and moral progress. It indicates also one of the chief sources of improvement in the humbler walks of life,—*the Sunday School*, which,

with all its defects, has proved itself to be more than equal to the many malign influences, brought latterly to bear upon the people. 150,000, at least, of those most honoured and most useful teachers were themselves, a few years back, scholars on the same forms. I shall take leave to mention another sign of progress;—*the* 1000 *essays on the Sabbath*, by working men, and on the same subject, the *Pearl of Days*, by the Gardener's Daughter.*

From its style and tone of feeling, so much above what seem to belong to any but those who have enjoyed the advantages of a polite education, the genuineness of the *Pearl of Days* has been called in question. I may mention, however, that a Christian friend of my own saw the gifted authoress washing potatoes before the door of her cottage, for her father's dinner. Conversing with her, subsequently, in that humble but hospitable abode, he found her, as her work so plainly denotes her to be, an *intellectual*, sober-minded, and godly woman,—herself, through grace, a pearl, though somewhat rudely set.

Of the middle classes less need be said. They are subject to less change than either of the extremes in the social fabric. They cause, in general, but little concern to the state, except as to how far they may be taxed. They are naturally conservative of

* I know no individual enterprise in the field of Christian charity more to be admired than the munificence of Mr. Henderson, of Park, Glasgow, which originated those essays, and which has since so largely put them into circulation in every walk of life, from the palace to the convict-ship.

order, good government, and peace. By these trade flourishes, commerce is increased, wealth realized, the comforts and luxuries of life enjoyed.

Their very faults, as they must be esteemed when measured by the standard of truth, tend to the national security and welfare.

From morning till night, from early manhood to hoary age, they toil on to amass wealth, that they may enjoy the comforts of life, and bequeath them to their children. Comforts, and even luxuries, have now, through long prosperity, come to be reckoned by them as necessaries. From an over-estimate of the value of the things of this present life, and inordinate pursuit after the means by which these may be secured, they fall too generally into that specious sin, *the love of money*, which an inspired apostle designates as *idolatry*. Nor is that upper portion of this class, which of all others should "flee these things," the ministers of Christ, exempt from their dangerous influences. Hence we are warned by two apostles against this sin in particular, both denouncing it, as a most vile and debasing passion, under the name of "*filthy lucre*."

The fact is, covetousness is the vice of respectable people—the sunken rock upon which most professors of religion make shipwreck of faith.

That the *morality* of the middle classes suffered very extensively during the railway mania of gain-getting speculation must have been manifest to every observer. In our younger branches chiefly, it is now being endangered by the gold-digging rage.

Hundreds of thousands, who by steady industry, and desires moderated by Christian principles, might have had a competent support, and wherewithal to help forward the work of the Lord in the world, have, in their haste to be rich, lost their footing in religion, and been precipitated into difficulties, penury, and vice.

Nevertheless, a revived spirit marks many portions of the middle classes, and instances are growing less rare of great self-denial and devotedness of life to the noblest purposes of humanity and faith. Two pleasant features of this progress are:—the association of so many thousands of our young men throughout the country for mutual improvement, and the promotion of Christian objects; and the very active part which so many of their number are taking in the very work itself, on the committees of Ragged-schools, Refuges, &c., and in many other ways.

After all, it will be questioned perhaps by many, whether the good is not counterbalanced by the evil, in our days. I do not stop to debate this question, preferring the more practical one, viz.,—What can give decided preponderance to the good—the people's advancement, in morality and virtue? My answer is,—A revived spirit of genuine religion in the church. This would be followed by extensive national reformation. The general tone of morals would be improved, and crime become more and more exceptional.

Christianity at the first triumphed over the cruel-

ties and abominable vices of the heathen world, as well as over its vaunted philosophy, and gave civilization to barbarous and savage life. Christianity, revived in the 16th century, diffused again light and liberty and virtue upon Europe. Shut out from some kingdoms by suicidal folly and infuriate cruelty, she "shook off the dust of her feet, as a testimony against them." They declined in the scale of nations, and have gradually, as regards religion, been sinking into infidelity or mediæval darkness; and, as regards government, into a condition of perpetual oscillation between despotism and revolution, both alike injurious to national prosperity and national morals. Welcomed and cherished by others, as the rays of returning day, these have advanced in all the useful arts of life, and the enjoyment of intestine peace, settled government, and rational liberty.

That which raised this country from a third or fourth-rate kingdom in Europe in that age, to its present height of commercial and moral greatness, can most assuredly now restore any of its decaying parts.

Religion thus revived would find her chief spheres of action, in the school—the family—the pulpit.

The School.—The theories of the mere educationalist are not borne out by facts. Literary men are not more moral than the unlearned. Men of genius have generally been below *par*. The learned residents of our universities are probably little, if at all, more virtuous than our farmers or tradesmen; the

students of our colleges, civilian and military, than the peasant youth of the country. But if education really does accomplish the moral renovation of the man, an immeasurable difference would manifestly mark those classes, surrounded as one is by a thousand safeguards to morals, and motives to virtue, which are wholly wanting to the other.

As regards criminals, education has been generally looked upon as the direct antagonist of the vices which cause their degradation. One hears continually the statistics of our gaols cited by the philanthropist, the social reformer, and the judge on the bench, to demonstrate this view. The reader of these pages thus far need not be informed of the writer's experience in this abode of crime. Every year's observation makes it only more evident to his mind that the advantages, in this respect, of a cultivation of the mind have been greatly over-estimated, and that men have lost sight of this, that education gives increased power to the evil-disposed as well as to the good. Education, I would repeat, changes the character of the crime rather than of the man. With those who espouse the opposite view, I leave the difficulty of accounting for a higher degree of education amongst criminals of the worst description, as convicts are, than in the ordinary run of prisoners in the gaols of the country.

The cleverest persons in this prison will not be found amongst the officers, but the prisoners. And although the highest class of educated villains do escape from the meshes of the law, beyond all proportion, there has never been a year in the history

of this place, in which we could not avail ourselves of *professional advice*, legal, medical, and otherwise, in the dim retirement of a solitary cell.

Our ablest men, at this moment, are three prisoners—a returned convict,* a German noble, (?) and a doctor of laws. The first man left this prison some years back, as an *exile*, with a special recommendation from our governor, and a gentlemanly outfit from his wardrobe, as I understand. In Australia he became *resident tutor* in the family of a man of wealth. How long he remained there, or what mischief he did, we know not. At the expiration of his time he returned, began life under a new name, paid his addresses to a widow lady, swindled her of much property, took up with an elegantly-dressed female, who of course passed for his wife, robbed tradesmen in a variety of ways, committed forgery, and was convicted and sent back to us.

The foreigner professes to be a Catholic. I believe him to be an infidel Jew, and no *Baron*.

This man's victims were jewellers in our large towns, the most wary of all shopkeepers. By his successful business in this line he contrived to keep up the show of rank for years. Even here, in one of the closest of all prisons, he has succeeded in effecting a clandestine correspondence with the external world, without the detection of his agency. He is master of several modern languages, and learned in Hebrew.

The LL.D. is a clergyman—the saddest instance,

* Referred to as case 41, in page 245. The *first;* for, by error of the press, the number is there repeated.

therefore, in these cases of perverted talent and acquirements. Three times did this man, after complete shipwreck of character and means, contrive to start again in respectable life, as the teacher of youth, by sheer talent and well-acted hypocrisy.

His victims were clergymen, young and old—high-church, low-church, and broad-church; principals of schools wishing to retire, and having an "interest to dispose of;" and, of course, unfortunate tradesmen. He is now devoid of shame and feeling, energetically planning, as I think, a new campaign, if not at home, at least, in America. He has been trying, with partial success, to raise money amongst the superior officers of this very prison, to get his parchments out of pawn. He has applied to myself for help, but I could be no party to his assuming again, with a ticket-of-leave in his pocket, the clerical garb, though of the precisest Oxford cut.

His knowledge of *the laws* would fully entitle him to his degree. In prison here, he has spent his leisure hours in making a new translation of the Book of Job, parts of which he has also turned into tolerable Greek sapphics, and in reiterated able petitioning on the ground of *innocence*.

Notwithstanding such cases, however, I entertain no doubt about the great value of a thorough and general education, provided it be conducted by competent persons, whose highest aim is to discipline their pupils for the great end of man's existence—the bringing glory to God, and the conferring good upon their fellow-creatures.

I think it would be impossible to over-estimate the blessings which would arise in the coming age, if the teachers of youth in this were animated by this high and holy ambition.

Oh! that the Spirit of God were poured out upon the schools of our country, both high and low, then would every doubt concerning the benefit of education be soon set at rest, and we should feel sure indeed that Providence had still a higher destiny for England to fulfil in the world. But woe to the church established in these realms, and woe to the nation, if the fountain be polluted at its source, or diverted into poisoned channels.

We have in the schools of the Church of England about a million and a half of the children of the humbler classes, and not far short of 200,000 gratuitous teachers on the Sunday. What a magnificent agency for good!

It is manifestly of the utmost importance that our schoolmasters and mistresses should be thoroughly trained for their arduous and honourable mission, and still more so, that they should be sound in the faith, exemplary in piety, and zealous promoters of the happiness and moral improvement of the children. To meet these wants of the church, the Home and Colonial Infant School Society has long most effectively laboured, and, of late years, the training colleges for masters, at Cheltenham and Highbury. I speak only of institutions with which I am particularly acquainted. I trust there are others in various parts of the country equally entitled to com-

mendation and support. In proportion to the vast importance of such institutions should they be watched by all who feel interested in the preservation of the Church in its Protestant integrity. Here our Christian laity may be, and have been, of the greatest use.

There has been lately an exceedingly wise move in the formation of a Society designated the "Working Men's Educational Union," having for its object the elevation of the working classes by the following means :—

1st. Encouraging the delivery of popular literary and scientific LECTURES, imbued with a sound Christian spirit; by preparing suitable diagrams and other aids to lecturers.

2nd. By promoting the formation of popular LENDING LIBRARIES and MUTUAL INSTRUCTION CLASSES.

This society, within the first year of its operations, succeeded in producing illustrations for popular lecturing by clergymen and others, of the following subjects :—

NINEVEH and ASSYRIA, with 30 diagrams.
THE SOLAR SYSTEM, 23 diagrams.
EASTERN HABITATIONS (a commencement of a series on the Manners and Customs of Scripture nations), 10 diagrams.

Human Physiology, in relation to Health, 10 diagrams.

The Catacombs at Rome and Early Christianity, 21 diagrams.

Paganism, its Practices, 6 diagrams.

In all, 100 diagrams.

It has begun its second year with renewed vigour in the propagation of illustrations of missionary scenes, for the Church Missionary Society; and other works of interest.

The following extracts from a letter volunteered by a well-known clergyman, labouring in a London district, to Mr. Benjamin Scott, the indefatigable honorary secretary, to whom chiefly the credit of the enterprise belongs, will show the beneficial working of the institution:—

"My dear Sir,—I am most anxious to bear testimony to the great service your Society is rendering to all who, like myself, are striving in vain by the *ordinary* means to bring the masses under a religious influence

"Since I have been in this neighbourhood, I have been constantly extending the various forms of pastoral agency by which we usually hope to elevate the condition of the working-man. The weekly services have been nearly trebled, the schools quadrupled, adult classes, male and female, formed, several Scripture readers and lay agents constantly engaged, libraries, provident societies, district-visiting, all being extended in the same proportion, and yet no access, comparatively, seemed to be obtained to the working-men. To get thirty or forty of them to a religious service seemed to be a large number.

"By the aid of your Nineveh diagrams (some of which I had shown to the children at the school first), I have been able to get this important class together in most extraordinary numbers.

I announced a lecture, to which admission was to be obtained for working-men only by tickets, and several days before the lecture we were obliged *to stop the issue*, tickets to the number of six hundred and fifty having been asked for.

"And a most intensely interesting sight was that assemblage of flannel and fustian, and never did auditory seem to be more interested. When, at the end of an hour-and-a-half, I told them I was sorry I must draw to a close, there was a cry, 'Plenty of time, sir.' However, I wanted to give them some twenty minutes upon my last head—'Nineveh, a great practical lesson to mankind,' and though passing at once to pulpit topics and a pulpit style, the men listened with unabated attention, allowed me to speak of the men of Nineveh rising 'in the judgment' against those who enjoyed such religious advantages as are offered in this country, and of the certainty that, sooner or later, the sternest retributions of Heaven must be expected to fall on every '*rejoicing city that dwelt carelessly*.'

"In consequence of the numbers whom we were obliged to send away, I have promised to repeat the lecture; and I cannot help thinking that your Society is opening a new door of pastoral influence, which all of us in charge of large working populations shall be most glad to enter.

"To B. Scott, Esq., Hon. Sec. W. M. E. U.,
"24 and 25, King William-street, Trafalgar-square."

The Family.—Religion revived in the church would here find a soil and atmosphere most suited for its extended reproduction and perpetuation in the land.

Every professed Christian family would become a nursery for the church. Parents receiving the truth in their own hearts would hand it down to their children. This is, assuredly, the divine order. (Ps. lxxviii.) In aiming at this, they would not make their children the less cheerful and happy. A wise infusion of religion into our homes would take

nothing from the real happiness of the young, but, on the contrary, give a permanence and solidity to their otherwise fleeting and evanescent joys. At the same time, they would train them by precept, conversation, and example, for works of charity and large-hearted enterprise, in the world, as soldiers and servants of Christ—not for a lukewarm profession of his religion, with an active pursuit after this world's wealth and distinctions. It is very deplorable, that parents who have, through Divine grace, risen above the things of the world for themselves, should fall into a hankering after them for their children ; and whilst formally teaching them sound doctrine should be communicating, in the way of table-talk, in which instruction is drunk in with the greatest avidity, principles which are unsound or maxims which are completely worldly.

I know it is very commonly said that the children of religious people are the wildest and the worst when let loose in the world, but I do not believe it. That it is too generally true of the children of clergymen and others professedly religious, may be freely admitted. Neither need it be denied that godly parents—perhaps from no fault of theirs, but more frequently, it is to be feared, from their inconsistencies, their over-indulgence on the one hand, or over-severity and want of sympathy on the other—have been most sadly disappointed in their fondest hope. But that a godly parentage, and a wise bringing-up, should be generally or extensively followed by a reverse issue, is as great a libel upon common sense

as it is upon the revelation of God, which enjoins the duty. For has not the experience of the world's history, in every nation, attested the pre-eminent power of parental influence in the formation of mind and character, for good or evil?

My own view of the facts of the case I find exactly expressed by the Rev. Albert Barnes, the American, on that most comfortable text of Isaiah lix. 21, "My spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever."

"There is no promise of the Bible that is more full of consolation to the pious, or that has been more strikingly fulfilled, than this. And though it is true that not *all* the children of holy parents become truly pious, though there are instances where they are signally wicked and abandoned, yet it is also true that rich spiritual blessings are imparted to the posterity of those who serve God and keep his commandments. It is well known to all who have ever made any observations on the subject, that the great majority of those who become religious are the descendants of those who were themselves the friends of God. Those who now compose the Christian churches, the world over, are not those generally who have been taken from the ways of open vice and profligacy; the church is composed mainly of the families of those who trained their children to walk in the way of pure religion."

He adds, "The secretary of the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society made a limited investigation, in the year 1838, for the purpose of ascertaining the facts as to the religious character of the families of ministers and deacons, with reference to the charge so often urged, that their sons and daughters were worse than common children. The following is the result:—In 268 families which he canvassed he found 1290 children over fifteen

years of age. Of these children 884 were hopefully pious; 794 have united with the churches; 61 entered the ministry; only 17 were dissipated; and about half only of these became so while with their parents. In 11 of these families there were 123 children, and all but 7 pious. In 56 of these families there were 249 children over fifteen, and all hopefully pious. When and where can any such result be found in the families of infidels, of the vicious, or of irreligious men? Indeed, it is the great law by which religion and virtue are spread and perpetuated in the world that God is faithful to this covenant, and that he blesses the efforts of his friends, to train up generations for his service. All pious parents should repose on this promise of a faithful God. They may and should believe that it is his design to perpetuate religion in the families of those who truly serve and obey him. They should be faithful in imparting religious truths; faithful in prayer; faithful in meek, holy, benevolent example; they should so live that their children may safely tread in their footsteps; they should look to God for his blessing on their efforts, and their efforts will not be in vain. They shall see their children walk in the ways of virtue, and when they die they may leave the world with unwavering confidence that God will not suffer his faithfulness to fail, that he will not break his covenant, nor alter the thing that is gone out of his lips.

"It is a fact, too," he continues, "that comparatively a large proportion of the descendants of the pious become themselves for many generations true Christians. Some of the most devotedly pious people of this land are the descendants of the Huguenots who were expelled from France. A very large proportion of all the piety in this country has been derived from the 'Pilgrims' who landed on the rock of Plymouth; and God has blessed their descendants in New England and elsewhere with numerous revivals of religion.

"*I am acquainted with the descendants of John Rogers, the first martyr in Queen Mary's reign, of the tenth and eleventh generations. With a single exception, the eldest son in the family has been a minister of the Gospel, some of them eminently distinguished for learning and piety; and there are few families now in this land, a greater proportion of whom are pious, than of that family.*"

The Pulpit. The aspect of religion, viewed in this relation, is calculated to awaken painful reflections.

In the Established Church there are in England and Wales more than 18,000 clergymen, that is, one for about every 1000 of the people.

In the most solemn moment of their lives, did those individuals, professing to be "moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon them the office of the ministry," promise "to instruct the people committed to their charge, with all faithful diligence out of Holy Scripture — to drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to *God's Word*—to be diligent in prayer and reading of *Holy Scripture*, and such studies as help to the knowledge of the same, laying aside the study of the world and the flesh—and so to fashion their own selves and their families, according to *the doctrine of Christ*, as to be *wholesome examples and patterns to the flock of Christ.*" How are those ordained teachers of the people employed, and of what sort is their work?

Thousands, thank God, are doing the work they have undertaken, indoctrinating their people, out of Holy Scripture, visiting them in their families, looking after their little ones, following these, as they grow up, into life, with wise and affectionate counsel, and watching over all as good shepherds of the flock of Christ! Alas! many are of a very different character. Some dance; some hunt with horn and hounds; not a few are licensed to kill game; and preserve all their energies for

this sport; still more follow their high vocation as a mere business, and practically reverse the saying, "We seek not yours, but you;" many, from ignorance of the truth, through sheer neglect of Holy Scripture, teach error in a thousand forms, and turn the people aside from the way of salvation. Some are immoral, a scandal to the name of Christ.

"I keep a dog to bark," said an old clergyman of his curate; "why should I bark myself?" Poor man! he did not know how accurately the prophet of the Lord had described him: "They are all ignorant, they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark; sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber. Yea, they are greedy dogs which can never have enough, and they are shepherds that cannot understand: they all look to their own way, every one for his gain, from his quarter."—Isaiah lvi. 10, 11.

It is melancholy to think how much might be done in many parts of the country by our clergy towards repressing crime, and lessening human misery; not to speak of higher concerns, if their minds were less set upon "lucre," worldly pleasures, or ecclesiastical frivolities, and their attainments and zeal were devoted to the promotion of godliness, in its most general acceptation.

Many a criminal has said to me of his pastor, "He never taught us—never visited us," &c. One convict, describing his clergyman, and the effect of his life on the parish, said, he was once working with others in a field when the fox-hounds passed, and the observation fell from some one, "There goes

Parson ——! I wonder, does he believe there is a God?"

If the clergy fail in these particulars, the gentry are little likely to be elevated to a sense of their duty to the population around them. Hence, places having every possible advantage towards producing the highest scale of morals, fall often below *par* from a combination of causes of this character.

My friend Mr. Clay, of Preston, published a few years back some curious comparisons of this nature, assisted by the Tables of Mr. Redgrove, of the Home Office.

Mr. Clay congratulates the magistrates of North Lancashire on comparison of that part of the country with more externally favoured places; showing that, with all the drawbacks on the morals of people which prevail in that great factory district, the proportion was, in 1841, only one criminal in 631 of the population (about the average of England), and this was reduced, in 1847, to one in 999; whilst the proportion of criminals to the population in Devon was, in 1841, one in 776; in 1847, one in 587. It is curious to observe, that in Cornwall, the proportion, in 1841, was only one in 1081. These last are humiliating figures to Churchmen, for the influence of the Church in Cornwall is, in comparison, small. What are those circumstances that prevent Devonshire from taking a high place in the scale of moral elevation? Is it that the gentry are given up so much to pleasure? In no part of England, I understand, are so many packs of dogs for hunting foxes, hares, otters, &c.

Is it that the clergy are engaged in "doubtful disputations," and things which edify not, and, presuming that their people are all Christians, do not teach them "according to the doctrine of Christ," that they must "turn from dead works to serve the living God?" I believe, the fault lies mainly with ourselves; our sacerdotal pride, worldly conformity, and self-congratulations, leave the people who attend our churches comfortably in their sins; and by consequence the morals of the people grow worse, and crime more rampant.

In no town in England may vice be seen walking forth in "the twilight" with greater effrontery than in Exeter. Conversing with an intelligent inhabitant on the subject, he admitted the discreditable fact, and attributed it to an imperfect police. This may be the secondary cause; if, however, the tone of religious feeling were elevated, the police, as well as the public morals, would be improved. Later occurrences show that there has been no improvement.

Can we meet all the wants of our increasing parishes? If not, let us rejoice in the help of zealous Christians labouring in City and Town Missions.

Now, that public morals are affected by the degree of Scriptural Christianity communicated, is capable of sufficient demonstration within the borders of our own islands.

Thus, in Ulster, the northern province of Ireland, although it has the poorest soil, and densest

population, but is about two-thirds Protestant, the proportion of criminals to the population is one only in 600; whereas, in Munster, the southern province, although the most fertile, but intensely Romanist, the proportion is one in 273!*

The same sort of proportion, so fatal to the boasted morality of the religion of the confessional, meets the eye in England.

The reader will not have forgotten the statement made by Mr. Lucas, on the authority of Dr. Wilson, Roman Catholic Bishop of Tasmania, (referred to on pages 200—201) that "in the convicts who had been transported to that island from Ireland," Dr. Wilson had found "not more than ten in the 100 who were Protestant;" but in those who came from England, "from fifteen to twenty were Roman Catholics."

According to this gentleman's account, then,—assuming that during the period of his residence in Australia, the proportion of Protestants to Roman Catholics in Ireland was only one-fourth; (it is now more than one-third,)—the matter stands thus:—

10 Protestants in 100 convicts. 25 in each 100 of the population.
90 Roman Catholics in 100 convicts. 75 in 100 of the population.

In words more significantly, treble the amount of the gravest crimes of Ireland was perpetrated by those who had the least portion of Scriptural light. In deeds of blood it is perfectly notorious this proportion is more than tenfold. As regards England,

* See further particulars in Appendix.

the case stands out still more distinctly, and with less possibility of mistake on the one hand, or of satisfactory explanation on the other.

I call the attention, to this point, particularly of that party who has been, ever since the Reformation, and at no period more than of late years, blackening the character of the religion and morals of England; and trying (with praiseworthy zeal, if they really believed their own statements,) to draw back the people to the wholesome pastures of the Roman communion. Let our own people consider it also for a few moments, and they cannot fail to see the true nature and practical character of the system which they are so earnestly being pressed, intermediately and cautiously, or *per saltum*, to adopt. Here they will observe, that however it may be (and as I believe is) with very many most honourable, virtuous, and conscientious persons in that communion, Romanism in itself is essentially rotten in morals, and therefore unsound in the faith.

That Mr. Lucas's proportion of "from fifteen to twenty Roman Catholics in the convicts of England," is not far from the truth, may be gathered from Father Oakeley's list of 80 in 560 in Pentonville Prison, and from the Millbank returns on page 206.

Let the Bishop's lowest number be taken. 15 in every 100 of the worst criminals in England, then, are Roman Catholics. What is their proportion in the population? By the accredited returns of the census, *not five in the* 100! Roman Catholics, in England and Wales, are just three-quarters of a

million, or one-twenty-fourth of the population, at the very outside.

A very ingenious gentleman, Mr. J. E. Wallis, writing from the Temple to the *Times*, on the 16th of January, has tried to work up the numbers of Roman Catholics in this country to a proportion more consistent with papal pretensions, and the *Wiseman* theory that England's re-conversion was at hand;* and concludes it to be "not without confirmation from an independent source," that they are "from a million and a quarter to a million and a half."

Mr. Wallis's reasoning is after the most approved Roman style. He casts suspicion upon the undoubted facts before him in the census returns, and would have us build our faith in his views upon the apocryphal manuscript of a deceased priest (quoted by a foreign Protestant), and upon certain returns in the hands of the clergy, *of births and baptisms of Catholic children, not made public!*

The marriage returns of Roman Catholics, to which Mr. Wallis refers, give their highest admissible numbers, remembering how that rite is regarded by them, as one of the sacraments of the church, and these were, in 1851, 6570, which, in proportion to the total marriages, would give three quarters of a million as their number in the population.

* The fact is now pretty manifest that the process of conversion or absorption has been very much the other way, and that every sort of emigration, like education, helps to free the slaves of superstition and priestcraft.

If any still think they are more, be it so. Say they are a million, then they are just one-eighteenth of the population of England, or not six in the 100, but they are fifteen in every 100 of the felonry of the country.

To suppose them a million is most damaging to their pretensions of sanctity. Upon this calculation there were attendances in Roman Catholic places of worship, less than 35 in the 100, whilst in the Protestant churches there were more than 60! (the total attendances on Census Sunday being 10,896,066, of which 383,630 were Roman Catholics.)

Upon what I believe to be the true proportion, their attendances were little more than 50 in the 100. Hence it is certain, that the largest portion of our English infidelity is to be found under the guise of the Church of Rome. On the Continent, it is notorious that Romanism has three grand divisions — pietists, papists, sceptics; the latter, even beyond the Alps, the largest. We were not prepared for the development of the same state of things in England.

It is a very melancholy fact to Rome, that notwithstanding all the attractions of her worship, and the meritoriousness of attendance upon it, she falls so short, in this grand particular, of "irreligious, godless Protestants!"

There is another feature in the census returns, bearing upon this part of our subject, little flattering to our own pride as churchmen, but not less

instructive. Of the total number of attendances on public worship on Census Sunday, viewed in relation to Dissenters, the smaller part were in the churches of the established religion. The total attendances were 10,896,066, of whom the Church of England had only 5,292,551.

Of the total number of sittings provided being 10,212,563, only 5,317,915 were in our churches, chapels, and cathedrals.

I confess these results are astounding to my own mind. What effect they have produced in my brethren of a higher school, I cannot say. I did think that, with all our drawbacks, we had the people decidedly with us; but these returns make this more than doubtful: for although, beyond question, a vast number of those who attended other places of worship were not Dissenters, yet the fact stares us in the face that, with innumerable advantages on our side, we were not able to keep them within our own enclosures. Why not? There are two chief reasons, in my opinion. Our *method* of teaching is bad—unattractive, and, to the mass, unintelligible. Written discourses, according to the received models—abounding in hard words, theological terms, and un-English phrases, without illustration and without point, delivered formally and lifelessly—are incomprehensible and repulsive. The advance of education will remedy part of this evil. People will understand better, but the Church will lose even more unless the clergy take proportionate pains to interest and engage

the mind. Of late years, the *matter* of the clergy's teaching, with the mode adopted by so many of celebrating divine worship, has repelled multitudes from her worship. Requirements and observances which, by tacit consent, had grown well-nigh obsolete, as foreign to the spirit of Protestant Christianity, have been revived and made the fundamentals of the Church. Microscopical particles of the old leaven have been laboriously collected and worked up at Oxford, and retailed, for numberless parishes, as the sole food of the people; with occasional intimations, by word and example, that if they desired full nourishment for their souls, they must go back to Rome. Now, in proportion as the Bible has been circulated and read in the land, has this teaching and worship been repudiated; for there is nothing more clear in Holy Scripture than that Christianity is not a ceremonial religion. This tractarian system, like another Delilah, was too long dallied with by our bishops. A little more encouragement of its harlotry would have overturned the Church—mitres, cathedrals, and all.

Of the teaching in the pulpits not belonging to the Church of England, of course I am not competent to speak. Under the more politic system of Rome many of the fanatics which disgrace Protestantism would be turned to good account in her minor orders—sodalities, sepulchral cloisters, or distant missions, or be otherwise disposed of.

In a state of liberty, we must accept the evil issue as well as the good: any condition is better than

the sleep of death, and the grave; any diversity of colour, than the uniformity of darkness.

The great sections of the Nonconformist Christians in England essentially accept the articles of our own faith, and their pulpits resound with the same calls to "repentance and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ." I wish I could say more. But although the fascinations of the ball-room, or the inspiriting cry of the hounds in hot pursuit, do not enthral their ministers, the world, it is to be feared, has just as strong a hold upon them as upon ourselves. Error is denounced, and establishments and formularies are pointed at. The deformity of vice is depicted, but it is vice in remote parts, or amongst the great, or the low populace. Error and sins nearest home are the most tenderly dealt with, especially that grand error and great sin of our times — the love of money. Men of Wesley's stamp, or Whitfield's, of Doddridge's, and the Henry's spirit, are as exceptional, I fear, as amongst ourselves. Of late Dissenters seem to have come down just to our own folly, of supposing that man can make a minister. Hence their colleges and schools, in which much literary poison, more injurious far, because more congenial to the taste, than the classical abominations of our own schools, is copiously imbibed; and vice, though more specious, is as surely practised.

A revival of religion is devoutly to be prayed for among Dissenters. Would to God it were less needed, and that, by their greater faithfulness to our common Lord, and deadness to the world, they

were able to provoke us to "faith and good works!"

I may be mistaken, but I think I see more signs of a revival of vital godliness in the Church of England than elsewhere. This once revived, reformation from within would follow. Things non-essential in our formularies, having a Popish aspect, would be expunged. She would become less secular, more parochial, more remedial of our social evils; and her temples, instead of being half-deserted, would be thronged by devout worshippers, and thereby national morals be elevated and improved on the best basis. Unreformed by such means, she may at no distant day again experience the rude handling of external violence.

When we see the picture, drawn by our matchless allegorist, exhibited in living characters, and greater numbers, in the pulpits of the land, we shall have before us the best sign and surest precursor of an advancing, wide-spread reformation in morals, to this and future generations:—

"Then said the Interpreter, Come in: I will shew thee that which will be profitable to thee. So he commanded his man to light the candle, and bid Christian follow him; so he had him into a private room, and bid his man open a door; the which when he had done, Christian saw the picture of a very grave person hang up against the wall; and this was the fashion of it: it had eyes lifted up to heaven, the best of books in its hand, the law of truth was written upon its lips, the world was behind its

back; it stood as if it pleaded with men, and a crown of gold did hang over its head.

"*Chr.* Then said Christian, What meaneth this?

"*Inter.* The man whose picture this is, is one of a thousand. He can say in the words of the Apostle, 'Though ye have ten thousand instructors in Christ, yet have ye not many fathers; for in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the Gospel.'—'My little children, of whom I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you.' 1 Cor., iv. 15. Gal., iv. 19. And whereas thou seest him with his eyes lift up to heaven, the best of books in his hand, and the law of truth written on his lips; it is to shew thee that his work is to know and unfold dark things to sinners; even as thou seest him stand as if he pleaded with men. And whereas thou seest the world as cast behind him, and that a crown hangs over his head: that is to shew thee, that slighting and despising things that are present, for the love that he hath to his Master's service, he is sure in the world that comes next to have glory for his reward. Now, said the Interpreter, I have shewed thee this picture first, because the man whose picture this is, is the only man whom the Lord of the place whither thou art going hath authorized to be thy guide, in all difficult places thou mayest meet with in the way; wherefore take heed to what I have shewed thee, and bear well in thy mind what thou hast seen, lest in thy journey thou meet with some that pretend to lead thee right, but their way goes down to death."

APPENDIX.

I.

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS OF CRIME, IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND, 1852,

EXCLUSIVE OF CASES OF SUMMARY JURISDICTION,

BY MR. CLARKE.

TABLE No. I.

Proportion of Offenders to Population—of Convictions, Acquittals, &c.

Division.	Population, 1851.	No. charged with Offence.	Proportion to Population.	Proportion Convicted per cent.	Same Acquitted.	Do. not Prosecuted, or no bills.
			1 in			
England & Wales	17,922,768	27510	651 1-7	77⅛	17	5½
Ireland	6,515,794	17678	308⅝	53½	19½	27
Scotland	2,870,784	4027	712 3-5	76 1-5	5⅞	17⅞
Total	27,309,346	49215	554⅞	..	..	..

TABLE No. II.

Part of United Kingdom.	1 Offences against the Person.			2 Offences against Property, with violence.			3 Offences against Property without violence.			4 Malicious Injury to Property.			5 Forgery, Coining, &c.			6 Offences not before included.		
	No. charg d.	Convicted.	Acquitted.	No. charged.	Convicted.	Acquitted.	No. charged.	Convicted.	Acquitted.	No. charged.	Convicted.	Acquitted.	No. charged.	Convicted.	Acquitted.	No. charged.	Convicted.	Acquitted.
England & Wales	2241	1529	545	1975	1503	376	21,309	16,811	3375	271	127	93	898	807	75	815	527	223
Ireland	2654	1175	535	1620	948	302	9,751	6,735	1867	313	174	64	236	100	81	3104	1322	602
Scotland	1035	786	79	590	411	43	1,974	1,563	89	66	33	5	114	70	9	248	172	14
Total	5930	3490	1159	4185	2895	721	33,034	25,109	5331	650	334	162	1249	977	165	4167	2021	839

TABLE No. III.

Number charged with Offence from 1848 to 1852.

Division.	1848.	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.	Average.
England & Wales	30,349	27,816	26,813	27,960	27,510	28,089
Ireland	38,522	41,980	31,326	24,684	17,678	30,838
Scotland	*	4,357	4,468	4,001	4,027	4,209

* No return.

The important facts which the foregoing tables, compiled from parliamentary returns, disclose, are these:—

1. England and Wales shows a *decrease* of the number committed for trial, or bailed for appearance at Assizes and Quarter Sessions in 1852, as compared with 1851, of 450 individuals.

2. Ireland of same, a *decrease* of 7,006.

3. Scotland of same, a small increase of 26.

4. England and Wales gives a proportion of such cases (exclusive of those of summary jurisdiction), to her population of . . . . . 1 in 651

Ireland, of similar cases . . . . . 1 in 368

Scotland, of same . . . . . 1 in 712

Although the proportion of offenders in Ireland to her population, when it is compared with that of England and Scotland, is lamentably great, yet the decided progressive improvement in her social state, as evinced by the decrease in the number charged with offence, must be most gratifying to those interested in her welfare.

1850, compared with 1849, showed a decrease in the number charged with offence before the tribunals of Assizes and Quarter Sessions, of 10,663

1851, compared with 1850, a decrease of . . . 6,642

And now, 1852, compared with 1851, shows a further decrease of 7,006

Being a total decrease in the last three years of . . 24,311

1852:—

Ulster, proportion of offenders to population 1 in 600

Munster	1 in 273
Leinster	1 in 313
Connaught	1 in 462
Average of Ireland	1 in 368

Ulster yet maintains her proud position in the social scale) and this is further confirmed by the returns of outrages reported in 1852 to the constabulary office, as given by the Inspectors-General of Prisons, in their report to Parliament. Of those reported offences—

Ulster, with a population of	2,004,289	is charged with 1,518
Leinster	1,667,771	2,346
Munster	1,831,817	2,619
Connaught	1,011,917	1,341

E. M. Clarke,
Local Inspector and Chaplain of the Gaol,
County Donegal.

II.

REPORT OF CHAPLAIN OF PENTONVILLE PRISON,

REFERRING TO CHANGES IN THE DISCIPLINE, ETC.

Gentlemen, Pentonville Prison, January, 1853.

I have the satisfaction to report favourably of the educational and moral improvement of the prisoners during the past year. Their progress in elementary knowledge has been fully equal to that of any former year, if allowance be made for the shorter period of detention under the present convict arrangements.

I have already explained to you, so fully, my views respecting the education which should be given to convicts in this the first stage of their discipline, that I will only here repeat, summarily, that its benefits, in my opinion, should be secured, in the first place, to those prisoners who cannot at all read, or who read without any intelligence of the meaning of words which they mechanically spell; and then, when it is possible to go farther, that the teacher should aim at laying a good foundation for the convict's improvement by his own efforts, and the assistance of the schoolmaster, in his next and longer stage. To confer the

advantages of a superior education on criminals, I hold to be wrong in principle. A superficial one is worse than useless. What such men need is principle; not mere intellectual development. That mere education does not produce moral elevation is too apparent, from the fact that convicts have had as large a share of its advantages as the non-criminal classes in society. Nevertheless, as men without some rudimentary education cannot read for themselves that book which alone teaches infallibly the things pertaining to godliness, nor understand its truths as generally taught by the ministers of religion, it is a matter of primary importance that all should be made, as soon as possible, acquainted with the language in which those truths are conveyed to them.

The thorough carrying out even of this principle, I am aware, will have many attendant drawbacks. A perverted nature will lead multitudes to abuse the acquired power, and unprincipled literary men will not be wanting to provide books in fearful abundance, licentious, immoral, and such as directly generate crime. On the whole, however, I am satisfied that the spread of knowledge would tend to the increase of good morals in any people where religion exists in a free and healthful state. But great exertions are required on the part of the community, the Government, and the Legislature, to meet the most pernicious efforts continually being put forth by authors and publishers who prostitute talent, education, and character to the detestable purpose of mere money gain, neutralizing the benefits of education to the lower classes, and poisoning the sources of their temporal, no less than of their eternal happiness. Such persons, if they cannot be reached by the arm of the law, should be scouted from society, as wholesale traffickers in the production of crimes which it costs the State so much to punish, and the miseries which follow in the train of crime to so many thousands, which no remedy can ever remove.

It may be well to show the enormous and increasing magnitude of this fertile source of crime, as detailed by Mr. Knight, the publisher, and other competent witnesses.

"Since the year 1844, when Eugene Sue's 'Mysteries of Paris' appeared in London, a great number of penny papers of a vitiating character have been published in London, Manchester, Liverpool, and other large towns. Many men of the lowest class

have started into notice, and become comparatively rich, by the sale of these most immoral works. I am acquainted (says the writer) with no less than six men who are in a position to keep their town and country houses by these pernicious enterprises; men who were saddled with debts a very few years ago. The mischief already done is considerable. The young people of both sexes in the families of the mechanic and the shopkeeper are now habituated to a course of reading in which felony, murder, and violation, forgery, adultery, and all other crimes are treated of as the common occurrences of life. The consequence is, that the minds of thousands are depraved by that very exercise which ought to improve them. There is no use in denying that some of these felonious tales are written with ability; but that only aggravates the evil, for it serves as an excuse to the common reader, and has the effect of attracting some readers of a better class. There are four of these weekly *Felonists* (for that is the nickname they have adopted) whose combined sale is calculated to amount to 350,000, and whose readers must, I should say, extend to 1,000,000 a week. One of these Felonists, and the most prosperous, has several gentlemen of ability among its contributors, and will probably be won over to the cause of order and good morals the moment the newspaper press begins to stir upon the subject.

"At the beginning of April one thousand eight hundred and fifty (says Mr. Knight) there were issued from the London press, to be continued in weekly numbers at a penny and three-halfpence each, one hundred separate publications. Of these, sixty were wholly works of fiction and ribaldry. Of the professed works of fiction a great number were of the 'Jack Sheppard' school, such as 'The Freebooters,' 'Dick Turpin,' 'The Bold Smuggler,' 'Paul Jones,' 'Gentleman Jack,' 'The Brigand,' &c. The hash is varied by every variety of tales of murder. The influences of such publications are counteracted by twenty-two weekly journals for the most part innoxious.

"The circulation of pernicious publications is immense. In 1845 it was calculated from London alone there was a yearly circulation of stamped and unstamped newspapers and serials of a decidedly pernicious character, to the extent of 28,862,000! During the last five years, while cheap religious periodicals have made limited progress either in numbers or interest, the corrupt

printing press has been unceasingly at work. The present circulation in London of immoral unstamped publications of a half-penny to three half-pence each must be upwards of 400,000 weekly, which would give the enormous issue of 20,800,000 yearly! In addition to these there is the weekly importation of French prints and novels, of so indecent a character that once they could only be obtained by stealth, but may now be purchased openly from any vendors of the other periodicals. We lately observed a shop called the 'Parisian depository for the sale of French prints,' where the business was entirely confined to that class of publications.

"In the beginning of 1851 above 100 new penny periodicals were started, and again in January 1852 at least an equal number, the greater part of these being calculated to do harm rather than good."

To the almost hopeless task of undoing the mischief inflicted upon society by such means, we are called, who are appointed to minister to the felon and outcast, and, under our direction, the schoolmasters engaged to labour amongst prisoners. Our aim should not be dissimilar. No schoolmaster is worth much anywhere, and least of all in a prison, who confines his view to the merely intellectual progress of his scholars, and does not consider mental improvement as a means to the higher end, the formation of character on Christian principles.

With respect to direct moral and religious improvement effected amongst the prisoners during the past year, there continues to be less profession of a religious change than in former years, but not less real amendment. Of some we have reason to hope that they have indeed been renewed in the spirit of their minds. Of the very great majority, we have no doubt but that they will approve themselves in after-life to be reformed, in the general acceptation of the word. The number of really converted persons amongst prisoners has been, I am satisfied, greatly over-rated by many sanguine minds, which have not taken into sufficient consideration the peculiar circumstances and characters of prisoners. The situation of prisoners is one of affliction, and the absence of active temptation to their besetting sins, especially in separate confinement. They are in a subdued, softened state of mind. Religious instruction is daily communicated to them, and they become enlightened.

They are conversed with by zealous and affectionate persons, who impress them with their views. Their teachers come to them, with the authority of superior officers, upon whose good opinion much is known to depend, and from whose kind offices much is expected by persons so circumstanced. Hence, without supposing gross hypocrisy to any considerable extent, the description by our blessed Lord will constantly be found applicable to a great many of the most hopeful,—" when they heard the word they received it immediately with all gladness, but they have no root in themselves, and so endure but for a time; afterward, when affliction or persecution ariseth for the word's sake, immediately they are offended."

On the other hand, the number of prisoners who have become better members of society in consequence of the affliction and punishment which have followed their course, and the encouragement and instruction how to do better which they have received in prison, is placed in general much under the mark. In accordance with those views, when classifying, with the Governor, the convicts about to be removed to the second stage of their discipline, I do not hesitate to give the advantage of the first class to all who have not by some overt act, or the exhibition of a confirmed habit, disclosed a really depraved character, or, by the frequent repetition of some ordinary prison offence, an insubordinate spirit. It appears to me a matter of great importance to extend, as far as possible, to men in their circumstances, the stimulus of encouragement and hope. To attempt a more refined estimate of the convict's character in a state of separation is only to deceive oneself with the delusive idea of possessing a power which no man can have; and, if religious improvement be made the test of classification, to generate extensively an insincere profession. The opportunities for forming a judgment upon the character, whilst a prisoner is on the public works, are so many and various, and the time of detention so much longer than with us, that the result of observation there must be considered the main element for fixing his ultimate destination.

I am happy to perceive, that few men on the public works forfeit the class which they receive thus so liberally from us. This confirms me in the persuasion, that the more credit you give to fallen persons for real desire to reform their ways, the more likely you are to secure this result. The reverse of this

principle I believe is as generally verified. Degrade a prisoner from his class for some trivial offence, by punishment, when an admonition and a warning would suffice, and you will most probably have to do it again and again.

Many a convict has thus come at last to be reputed incorrigible, who originally, in his criminal character, was much less vile than others who have attained to the first class, under a happier course of treatment. Many more, in my opinion, would certainly sink gradually into the incorrigible class, from the indignation or recklessness produced by a heavy punishment for some offence involving no moral turpitude, were it not that it is the business of the minister of religion to visit them under punishment, and, whilst maintaining to the prisoners the necessity of discipline, and their duty, to infuse hope and encouragement into their minds. In cases where excessive punishment for the first offence has not been followed by rapid deterioration and an insubordinate spirit, the existence of this influence must continually be borne in mind.

The beneficial moral results of the discipline and instruction of the prison have in no degree been lessened, in my opinion, by the mode of exercise adopted during the year past, in lieu of the separate yards. There has been actually less communication between the prisoners. The good effect of the change upon the mental condition of the prisoners has been to my perception most marked. From an early period in the history of this prison, you are aware, I was led to advocate a mitigation of the rigorous character of separate confinement originally instituted in Pentonville; and I have hailed with no small satisfaction, on the ground of humanity, every approximation to such a course of treatment, as should secure a better prospect of continuing what is useful in this discipline without perpetuating the serious evils which a growing experience led me to apprehend from its indiscriminate application. I am now enabled, by very distinct recollection of my early impressions, to compare the convicts of the first years, in general appearance and manner, with those of the last; and I have no hesitation in affirming that the present healthful mental aspect of the prisoners forms a complete contrast to the nervous, agitated condition of the first, allowance being made for the many cases of debility and age now admissible to the prison, which were so carefully excluded at the first.

It is really no small relief to my own mind, remembering the past, to turn my eyes for a moment from this paper, as I write, and view the manner now in which one hundred prisoners in the spacious ground before my window are being exercised. Separated by moral discipline and simple arrangement, they walk erect, like men. Their whole frame is in motion, and they move at so lively a pace as almost to provoke competition; fast enough, however, to render much thought, for the while, impossible. To the young and active it is enjoyment. To the less vigorous and the sluggish it gives a stimulus which cannot fail to be of use to the mind as well as body. The picture is happily removed of the convict, pensively, thoughtfully, at the best leisurely, treading his solitary little yard, the boundaries of which were high walls, massive iron palings, and a door with inspection plate through which an officer's eye was perpetually on all his actions. When officially interrogated by you on the probable effects of a change in such points of our discipline as seemed to press heavily upon the mind of the prisoner, I anticipated those results with confidence.

The experience of the physician of the Penitentiary in New Jersey, lately brought before the British public, has long been my own. "The more rigidly the plan is carried out, the more its effects are visible upon the health of the convicts. A little more intercourse with each other, and a little more air in the yard, have the effect upon the mind and body that warmth has on the thermometer; almost every degree of indulgence showing a corresponding rise in the health of the individual. That an opinion to the contrary should have been advocated at this time seems like a determination to disregard science in support of a mistaken but favourite policy."

The separation of the convicts in the chapel (the effect of which I was desired to state) I did not, nor do I now, think oppressive to the mind to any perceptible degree. The process of instruction going on in the school, the considerable part which the prisoners take by responding and singing in the religious service, and the interest so generally felt in the consecutive reading and simple exposition of the Holy Scriptures, make this continuation of separation wholly harmless. If no interest were imparted to those exercises (as is the fact still as regards some exceptional cases), the continued separation would

certainly tell, in some measure, unfavourably upon the mind. Viewed in its moral aspect, the separation of prisoners during divine worship is only justifiable on the ground of necessity, the existence of which is, however, now confidently denied, by not a few excellent persons who have tried both plans. I am too sensibly alive to the evils attached to either plan to advocate a sudden departure from an established course.

The uses, and the danger of the convict's peaked cap (another point upon which a question was raised) I think have been alike exaggerated.

In advocating, in consequence of my first few years' experience in this prison, a modification of separate confinement, and the necessity of combining it with a system of well-regulated labour on public works, under the direction of Government, I was guided wholly by my own observation, and the conviction that the ends of justice, and the reasonable demands of the colonies of Australia, could only be met by such a course. I had my misgivings, moreover, that the reformation effected under such complete separation from the temptations of life, would not prove to be of a permanent character. I feared that the long continuance under a system of such restraint, physical and moral, would be followed by a reaction, where there was not a real change of heart by the Holy Spirit. However this might be, I thought I saw distinctly marked, such effects of separate confinement as to put out of the question its exclusive application for a lengthened period, as the sole or greater part of a convict's treatment.

Among the convicts of the first years, most carefully selected, as they were, in the matter of general health, age, crime, and sentence, there was an undue proportion, as you are aware, of mental disturbance and excitement, from insanity downwards to a sort of indescribable nervous or hysterical condition, which was partly observable in the prison, but much more so on board ship, where a large proportion were seized with convulsions. This was the case in the *Sir George Seymour*. In the *Stratheden*, which next sailed with our prisoners, twenty out of one hundred were thus affected, but none of the convicts, on board, from the other prisons, as I reported at the time to the board. It was reasonable to infer, that where no such actual result followed, there was yet an effect produced upon the system of an unfavourable character; and this I thought observable in the appearance

of our convicts, viewed in comparison with the others around them. Could it be imagined that longer detention in such a state would not aggravate this mischief? It was so thought by some, whose judgment might justly be considered much safer to follow than mine. Tables were prepared to show that cases of insanity and delusion occurred, in the first, rather than in the last period of the eighteen months here experimented on. That result, however, in my opinion, seemed consistent enough with the supposition of *a gradual and perhaps imperceptible decline of the physical and mental energies of the mass of persons subjected to the trial.* Active disease might be developed in the first stage of confinement, whilst general debility or prostration of spirits would mark the latter part of a long confinement in separation; and when released the sufferers would not be competent to work their way in the world like other men; and having this disadvantage, with the loss of character, would be doomed in too many cases to hopeless pauperism, vagrancy, or crime.

Further, gentlemen, I considered that religion could gain nothing by such results. Depression of spirits is not contrition; remorse is not repentance; resolutions and vows of amendment, made whilst suffering the penalty of transgression, imply no change of principle,—no real reformation of character. The weakening of man's physical and mental energies does not generate piety. Religion cannot be in a healthy state which originates in disturbance of the mental powers. You are acquainted with the results, as regards the religious and moral condition of our convicts of the early years, about whom such sanguine expectations were entertained. Too many witnesses, having opportunities for observation and inquiry in the colonies, have affirmed a deplorable falling away in them, to allow one to question the fact. Indeed, on the whole, there appears reason to fear that the operation of the discipline on the minds of the exiles, sent from Pentonville, was not so friendly to religion as even its most moderate advocates, like myself, ventured to anticipate.

It is increasingly, therefore, a matter of satisfaction, to me at least, that the experiment of subjecting convicts to one probationary period of a lengthened term of separate confinement was not further persevered in, but that a system of convict discipline has been put into operation, which secures whatever advantages belong to separate confinement, consistently with mental safety;

is combined with active bodily exertion and training in out-door labour; incorporating all through the elements of a wholesome severity with those of humanity and religion. Character formed under such circumstances will be *less specious, but more stable;* and the convict, at the expiration of his probation, will be qualified to return to the honest pursuits of hard labour, if such had been his condition, or have recourse to them for a livelihood, when crime has degraded him from a better condition.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

To the Directors of Convict Prisons. J. KINGSMILL.

III.

THE CRYSTAL PALACE.

OPINIONS OF 599 MEDICAL MEN IN THE METROPOLIS, ON THE SUBJECT; ALSO OF SEVENTY PRISON CHAPLAINS.*

ON the important subject of opening the Crystal Palace on the Lord's Day, the Committee felt that it would be very important to obtain the opinions of Chaplains of Prisons; they therefore put themselves in communication with the Rev. J. Kingsmill, Chaplain of the Pentonville Model Prison, to whom a similar idea had occurred. Mr. Kingsmill in consequence drew up an able petition to both Houses of Parliament, expressive of his own views on the subject, to which he obtained the signatures of Chaplains of Prisons in the Metropolis and its neighbourhood. The Committee forwarded a copy of this petition to the other Chaplains of Prisons in England for signature. Seventy Chaplains signed this petition.

The following is a copy of this important petition:—

"The Petition of the undersigned Chaplains of her Majesty's Prisons

"HUMBLY SHOWETH,—

"That your Petitioners, from the nature of their duties, are especially interested in the promotion of public morals.

"That your Petitioners are well acquainted with the many obstructions to virtue, and direct incentives to a vicious course, which have been allowed for a long time to gather round the

* Extracted from quarterly paper of the Lord's Day Society.

humbler classes in the metropolis and other parts of the country; and in discharge of their painful duties, are continually witnessing the most deplorable effects.

"That your Petitioners have therefore hailed, with more than ordinary satisfaction, every movement of late years, originated by Parliament or private enterprise, for the amelioration of the social and moral condition of the labouring classes; and especially such as tended to raise their tone of self-respect, and to demonstrate to the upper classes how well deserving their poorer brethren are of their most considerate regard.

"That, next to the bond of a common Scriptural faith, your Petitioners know none more likely to consolidate society, and prevent a decline in national morals, than the love of country generated by a kindly sympathy pervading all classes of the community.

"That accordingly your Petitioners regarded the late Industrial Exhibition as a design most happily conceived and accomplished, emanating, as it did, from the high, the noble, and the wealthy, for the gratification and instruction of all.

"That your Petitioners would view with like satisfaction the rising Palace at Sydenham; but that they understand an attempt is likely to be made to induce Parliament to sanction a departure from its great model of 1851, in that one distinguishing feature—the scrupulous observance of the Lord's Day—which secured at once the regard of all persons in Great Britain who preferred the religion and the customs of their country to continental habits, and made it a grand exposition to all the world of the religious principles and character of England.

"That your Petitioners are convinced that a departure from that example in this particular, would be followed by most disastrous consequences to public morals and religion, for the following amongst other reasons:—

All unnecessary labour on Sundays has the invariable tendency to produce irreligion, immorality, and the disruption of family ties. By the proposed arrangements it is certain that Sunday labour would be greatly increased. All Sunday amusements accomplish the like result, only with greater certainty. The workman, with his shopmates, or less select companions, deserts his family for the excitement of the Sunday amusement; and the young of both sexes, breaking loose from the feeble and inconsistent restraints of home and religion, take the *first step*

in evil, and sink with fearful rapidity into profligacy and crime. The recreations to be offered in the new Palace of Sydenham, being in themselves innocent and attractive, would introduce at once a multitude of persons to the practice and habit of Sunday pleasure-taking;—parents and teachers, who have hitherto found no difficulty in keeping young people from the infamous gardens in and around the metropolis, open at present on Sundays by an evasion of the law, would find it in too many cases impossible to prevent their going to Sydenham Garden on that day, if, unhappily, the full sanction of the Legislature of their country could be pleaded on the side of passion and self-will; and thus it would happen, that although those vile places might suffer at the first, they would ultimately the more flourish, from the greater numbers which had contracted habits of Sunday pleasure-taking, and the innate tendency of man to pass from the more innocent and rational excitement to the more gross and sensual.

"That your Petitioners further would urge upon your honourable House, that the opening of the Exhibition at Sydenham on Sundays would not prove any boon to the working classes. A single visit, with a family of average number, would cost the working man at the least a sum equal to the rent he pays for the apartments which he occupies. Unless, therefore, he launches into extravagant habits, or deserts his family for his own selfish gratification, his visit *with his family* must be only on such occasional holidays in the course of the year as his means and opportunities will permit. Nor is there any necessity. The operatives of London, and the country generally, keep two or three holidays in Easter or Whitsuntide; to these, others might be added by a mutual good understanding between employers and their people, with advantage to both parties, without encroaching on the sacredness of the Lord's Day.

"That your Petitioners, therefore, upon a calm and thoughtful consideration of the subject—confining their attention to public morals, and the interests of the humbler classes, and not going into the consideration of the obligation on Christians of preserving inviolate the whole Sabbath (which yet they firmly believe)—do earnestly implore your honourable House not to let any Bill pass permitting the Palace at Sydenham, or its grounds, to be opened on any part of Sunday; but to adhere in this, as well as all other things,

to those great principles of the Scriptural religion so happily and so long established in these realms, under which England has risen to her present greatness and prosperity."

All the Metropolitan Prison Chaplains signed this petition, one only excepted—that is, 19 out of 20.

Some medical gentlemen having learned that petitions in favour of opening the Crystal Palace on the Lord's Day had been introduced into some of the hospitals of the metropolis for signature, conceived the design of originating a counter petition. They accordingly prepared the following, which was numerously and most respectably signed :—

"*To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled: the Petition of the undersigned Physicians, Surgeons, and General Practitioners, resident in London,*

"Humbly Showeth,—

"That your Petitioners, from their acquaintance with the labouring classes, and with the laws which regulate the human economy, are convinced that a seventh day of rest, instituted by God, and coeval with the existence of man, is essential to the bodily health and mental vigour of men in every station of life.

"That the system which provides for the gain of some, and the recreation, the amusement, and the vices of others, at the expense of their fellows, who require and are entitled to a day of rest as much as they, and thus consigns a large and yearly-growing proportion of the community to a life of unbroken toil, besides being at variance with that law of charity which enjoins us to do to others as we would they should do to us, has a direct tendency to undermine the health, exhaust the strength, and shorten the lives of those who are its victims.

"That the proposal to open for profit the Crystal Palace, now in course of erection at Sydenham, and to create in connexion with it an enormous amount of railway traffic during a portion of the Lord's Day, lying manifestly open to these objections, and confessedly implying a still further extension of this hurtful system, appears to your Petitioners pregnant with disastrous results to the labouring classes, because directly tending to defraud them of that boon which the Sabbath-law of a beneficent Creator provides for the whole family of man.

"That while they are more especially called to minister to the physical sufferings of their fellow-creatures, your Petitioners cannot overlook the close relationship subsisting between moral and physical disease, or entertain the hope that any plans which do not make full provision for their spiritual as well as for their physical necessities, will effect any great or permanent improvement in the health and the habits of the labouring population; and that, even if your Petitioners could altogether shut their eyes to the moral aspects of the above-mentioned proposal, in favour of which their opinion has been expressly invoked by its promoters, it would, according to their experience of the wants and slender resources of the labouring poor, be a mere mockery to offer the much-needed blessings of health, fresh air, and recreation, at an expense far beyond the means of the vast majority, and sure to entail serious subsequent privation even on the few who might venture to incur it at distant intervals.

"That your Petitioners, deeply sympathizing with the hard and cheerless lot of multitudes of their fellow-countrymen, of whose health they may be considered in some sense the guardians, feel bound to protest against any encroachments, from whatever quarter they may come, on that day of rest which is the birthright of the poor, and to claim for them far greater opportunities of healthful and innocent recreation than they now enjoy. Convinced that the present protracted hours of labour are not only hurtful but needless, and anxious to lighten instead of adding to the pressure of toil that now weighs so heavily on the working classes, your Petitioners desire to express their belief that the requirements of the Divine law, and the interests both of employers and artisans, may be harmonized by the concession, as in Manchester, and (to some extent) in Glasgow, of a portion of one of the working days as a weekly half-holiday; and the provision, free of cost, in all the large towns of the United Kingdom, of parks and gardens, and of public museums of art and science, fitted to elevate the habits and refine the tastes of the labouring population.

"May it therefore please your honourable House to refuse your assent to any measure calculated in any way to set aside the law actually in force, and to legalize the opening of the Crystal Palace and its grounds for gain on any portion of the Lord's Day.

"And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray."

IV.

NAMES AND LOCALITIES OF CONVICT PRISONS.

The accommodation at the disposal of the Government, and the distribution of the convicts, are detailed in the following Return, taken from the Report of Lieut.-Colonel Jebb, C.B., Surveyor-General of Prisons, Chairman of the Directors, &c., in 1853.

Establishments at Home for Male Convicts.

Prisons for Separate Confinement.

Millbank	1,100	
Pentonville	561	
Wakefield	412	Cells in county or borough prisons rented by the Government.
Preston	50	
Leeds	50	
Leicester	112	
Northampton	60	
Bath	24	
Reading	40	
Bedford	70	
Perth	180	For Scotch prisoners.
		2,659

Prisons and Hulks for Public Works.

Portland	1,070	
Portsmouth	1,020	
Dartmouth; able-bodied	650	
Hulks at Woolwich "Defence"	530	
Hulks at Woolwich "Warrior"	450	
		3,720
Parkhurst (for Juveniles)		625

Invalid Depôts.

Dartmoor	626	
"Stirling Castle" Hulk, Portsmouth	400	
		1,026
Total in England and Scotland		8,030
Ireland, including Males and Females		5,246

Abroad.

Gibraltar, say	690	
Bermuda, say	1,700	
Western Australia	550	
		2,850
General Total		16,126*

* Exclusive of Brixton Female Convict Prison, for 600.

V.

FORM OF A TICKET-OF-LEAVE

AS NOW GRANTED IN ENGLAND.

Order of License to a Convict, made under the Statute 16 & 17 Vict., chap. 99, sect. 9.

WHITEHALL,

day of 185 HER MAJESTY is graciously pleased to grant to , who was convicted of , at the , for the of , on the day of , and was then and there sentenced to be transported beyond the Seas for the term of years, her Royal License to be at large in the United Kingdom, from the day of his liberation under this Order during the remaining portion of his said term of Transportation, unless it shall please Her Majesty sooner to revoke or alter such License. And Her Majesty hereby orders that the said be set at liberty within days from the date of this Order.

Given under my Hand and Seal

Signed,

TRUE COPY.

Chairman.

NOTICE.

1.—The power of revoking or altering the License of a Convict will most certainly be exercised in case of his misconduct.

2.—If, therefore, he wishes to retain the privilege which, by his good behaviour under penal discipline, he has obtained, he must prove by his subsequent conduct that he is really worthy of Her Majesty's clemency.

3.—To produce a forfeiture of the License, it is by no means necessary that the Holder should be convicted of any new Offence. If he associates with notoriously bad characters—leads an idle and dissolute life—or has no visible means of obtaining an honest livelihood, &c.—it will be assumed that he is about to relapse into crime, and he will be at once apprehended, and re-committed to prison under his original sentence.

DESCRIPTION.

Hair . . . . . .
Eyes . . . . . .
Eyebrows . . . .
Nose . . . . . .
Mouth . . . . . .
Complexion . . .
Visage . . . . . .
Make . . . . . .
Height . . . . . ft. in.
Trade . . . . . .
Born at . . . . . .
Friends reside .

Reed and Pardon, Printers, Paternoster Row, London.

CHAPTERS
ON
Prisons and Prisoners,
AND THE PREVENTION OF CRIME.

IN FULL-SIZED OCTAVO, GILT LETTERED, PRICE 10s. 6d.

Extracts from various Notices of the Work.

"Notwithstanding the title of this book, so little promising of gratification to curiosity, it is one of the most amusing as well as instructive volumes that ever came into our hands. Mr. Kingsmill disclaims, and, we have no doubt, with perfect sincerity, all pretences to literary merit for his work: we must take leave to tell him that it possesses literary merit of a very high order,—a judicious division of the matters treated—an exact and complete analysis of details—and an easy, flowing, graceful, and unaffected style. From Gay and Fielding, to Dickens, various writers of fiction have given us glimpses of the race of thieves; but the creations of these writers are imaginary, and, therefore, subject to suspicion of exaggeration; Mr. Kingsmill, however, gives us the reality, which far exceeds anything that has ever yet been presented in fictitious narrative."—London *Standard.*

"This is a book of almost priceless worth. The Author has had ample opportunities of learning the antecedents of criminals, and the predisposing causes of crime. He has made admirable use of the information acquired; and a performance of more vital moment has rarely issued from the press. It claims the attention of the Christian, the Philanthropist, and the Statesman."—*Naval and Military Gazette.*

"This able work is from the pen of a gentleman who has studied the whole subject of the treatment of prisoners with judgment and careful discrimination; and his reflections and opinions are entitled to great weight."—*Morning Herald.*

"A volume as interesting as it is unpretending, and worth a whole ship-load of those plethoric volumes, the Reports of the Inspectors of Prisons."—*Morning Post.*

"No class of readers will have cause to regret the purchase of this volume. The author disclaims all pretensions to literary merit, but the plan of his work exhibits considerable artistic ability, whilst his writing is at once powerful and eloquent in its sincerity."—*Poole and Dorsetshire Herald.*

"Ought to be in the hands of all who are called upon, either to control, to regulate, or to support the prisons of the country."—*Woolmer's Plymouth and Exeter Gazette.*

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